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INSECURITY OF THE BRITISH FUNDS.

ESSAY

ON

PUBLIC CREDIT:

BY

DAVID HUME.

(Reprinted from the Edition of 1752.)

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOUND AND PROPHETIC NATURE OF ITS PRINCIPLES;

SHEWING FROM INDISPUTABLE FACTS, THAT A PERSEVERANCE IN

THE PITT AND PAPER SYSTEM MUST EVENTUALLY

PRODUCE

A NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY;

AND

POINTING OUT THE ONLY MODE OF AVERTING SO FATAL A CALAMITY;

WITH REMARKS ON THE NECESSITY OF PARLIAMENTARY

REFORM; AN ANALYSIS OF MR. BENTHAM'S PLAN,

&c.

ADDRESSED

TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

BY

IMLAC.

"He who finds himself unwilling to look into his Accounts, will soon find them not worth looking into."

"Wilful waste makes woeful want."

OLD ENGLISH PROVERBS.

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1817.

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DEDICATED

(WITHOUT PERMISSION)

TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS

CHARLOTTE,

WHOSE EDUCATION IN THE PRINCIPLES OF

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

WAS ONCE THE BOAST OF AN ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGE,

AND NOW CONSTITUTES THE BRIGHTEST HOPE

OF THE

British Nation;

BY

AN ARDENT ADMIRER

OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

VIGOROUS UNDERSTANDING,

GENEROUS HEART,

AND IRREPROACHABLE PRIVATE CONDUCT.

Nov. 1, 1817.

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PREFACE.

SINCE fashion and the order of the day are now omnipotent, there must needs be a Preface. Mr. Hume's Essay on Public Credit I have taken for the text of *my* lay sermon: and though the greater part of the accompanying remarks were written during the height of the distress, yet their publication may still be useful in recalling public attention to the first principles of our extraordinary PAPER system, and to the alarming instability of British prosperity.

This celebrated prophecy of David Hume's was first published in 1752, and the events of the last half century have most remarkably fulfilled its predictions. His local politics having been high Tory, *he* surely cannot be accused of jacobinism or free thinking on *politics*; and for the satisfaction of the enlightened Lord C. and a large body of unbelievers, no one ever suspected him of a morsel of Christianity. So I should hope he will not be called a prejudiced witness when summoned to prove the wretched infatuation of the Pitt principles. The character of Mr. Hume is too well known to require any further comment. He was a man of powerful understanding;

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and we are indebted to him for an elaborate history of our country, which, though often prejudiced, is perhaps, as a whole, the most valuable we possess. The reprint of this Essay by itself, may more particularly attract the public attention to the importance of its subject, and is more especially advisable from its being generally attached to his sceptical writings; for Mr. Hume was so unfortunate as not to be a believer in our revealed religion: he was nevertheless an honourable and a benevolent man, who seldom passed an opportunity of benefiting his fellow creatures; and one whom natural religion and common sense instructed, that contracting debt was unwise and dishonest. His infidelity may be very much attributed to an early disgust of those contradictory and monkish superstitions, which many Christians propagate to the destruction of all genuine Christianity.

Perhaps it is not generally known that Mr. Hume is the English philosopher so admirably described in Mackensie's beautiful story of La Roche—where scepticism and belief in divine revelation are contrasted with such just and touching sensibility, and where the rational solace of a true and pious resignation is so ably distinguished from superstitious fanaticism.

The object of the following pages is not to create despondency or to cast a gloom over our future prospects. It is not to promote the interest of one political party or another; for the author never yet articled himself to any set of men, nor will he ever so far compromise his judgment and integrity. His object is purely to warn the country against approaching evils, which, if suffered to proceed, must infallibly terminate in irretrievable misery. The commerce of the country within the last three months has very

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considerably revived: how far it is a permanent or gaining revival is another question; but we are not to forget the mass of poverty and wretchedness which *still* prevails throughout the country—we are not so soon to forget the long lists of bankrupts, the insolvent compositions, the great proportion of tradesmen still living on their capital—the shocking increase of crime—the constant increase of the National Debt—the pressure of the taxes and poor rates—the very probable recurrence of war—the prospect of the property tax, and the reported projected alteration in the Corn Bill—all these bitter recollections are not so soon to fade from our remembrance, or adversity has taught us no lesson. I am, however, far from thinking the prosperity of these islands is departed never to return; but a *perseverance* in the political principles which have of late years governed the councils of the kingdom, must *eventually* terminate in a National Bankruptcy; whether that be a misfortune or no, I leave to common sense and the following pages to solve. A twenty years peace, and an entire change of men and *measures*, might yet redeem our affairs. It is then against a continuance in Mr. Pitt's system of policy, and especially against a NEW WAR, that I most solemnly protest. These are the two evils I most fear, since I see the ..... — ..... is a confirmed disciple of those principles, notwithstanding his early predilections; and all the government writers endeavouring to prove loans and taxes invaluable blessings, and war by no means the evil it has been "factitiously" represented. The most impudent and palpable paradoxes are daily promulgated by the babbling echos of corruption; and the intricate labyrinths of the public accounts have become

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almost impenetrable. It will therefore be the endeavour of this volume to collect under one view the opinions of the most celebrated Political Economists on the *principles* of the FUNDING SYSTEM; and as in such a variety of detailed accounts there must of necessity be many little inaccuracies, it is hoped the reader will pass them by, and keep in view the main intent of the author. He ventures no predictions as to time. Such has hitherto been the failing of all who have opposed this ruinous system. Those writers did not sufficiently distinguish between bankruptcy and insolvency; nor did they make sufficient allowance for the extraordinary energies of the country, or for the tendency of the system, to interest more in its maintenance the longer it continued. Many of them never contemplated the possibility of a government being able to force an inconvertible medium on the British Public, immediately after the fatal experience of the French assignats.

But we are told to look at the great *plums* of the City. It is in these overgrown mushroom capitalists that I recognize one of the most evil consequences of the bubble; for, as Lord Bacon observes, money is like muck, of no use unless spread about: when in great heaps it only encourages monopolizing combinations against free trade. Dr. Colquhoun may tell me that private bankruptcy is no national misfortune, for that the country retains the same wealth; and that what somebody loses, another gains; but is it any consolation to tell a man who has been robbed on the highway, that the nation is none the poorer, and that the thief will spend his property? Is wealth in the hands of many industrious individuals not more productive than in the lumps of a great fund-

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holder? There certainly is more real wealth in the country then ever there was before, but with the departure of industry and public confidence it would vanish, as the precious metals withdraw from Spain. Yet it may be retorted that unfortunately for my croaking the Bank of England is paying in specie! This is one of those rank deceptions the jackalls of corruption are constantly administering to the cravings of that gullibility for which we have ever been so remarkably conspicuous. But what does this boasted resumption of cash payment amount to—that the Bank of England pay notes of every description dated *previous* to 1st. January, 1817. And how many are to be met with? The Bank has taken good care to call them nearly all in before this generous notice, and replace them with paper of a later date: and the few that are out are sought with avidity, and purchased at a considerable premium.

"We understand that according to the present course of Exchange, (or whatever other course it is, that raises the nominal value of gold above that of silver or paper circulation; for the matter we believe, is still in dispute) the new sovereigns admit of being sold at a premium. Perhaps they may be coined too large, or the silver too little. Numerous dealers are said to be engaged in this nefarious traffic; and as gold can only be procured at the Bank by notes dated prior to the 1st of January, 1817, Bank notes of that antecedent date are bought up with avidity, and instantly taken to the Bank for cash. This is a circumstance which, if true, we shall regret exceedingly, both as being the first which has emerged of a character calculated to fetter in any degree the new circulation so happily in progress, and likewise as greeting the *frank* determination of the Bank, to pay in cash with a rude reception. We feel anxious to obtain further information on this subject." *Times*, Oct. 9, 1817.

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Will the Directors now assert, that there is no *depreciation* in the value of their notes dated since January 1817, compared with those of a previous date? In this instance there admits of no Jesuitical quibble on the "rise of bullion." Twenty years have elapsed since the passing of the *Restriction Act.* Why was this impolitic and dishonest expedient resorted to? Because the excessive issue of paper, excessive discounts, and the connection of the Bank with Government, rendered it impossible for the Directors to pay their promissory notes in specie. Since this period we have constantly heard of the *intention* of that establishment to resume cash payments. We have seen a difference of ten shillings between the value of the one pound Bank of England note, and the mint guinea; aud it was at this period (1809) that the Parliament thought proper to appoint a committee for the purpose of inquiring into, and examining, the cause of this high price of bullion. The report of that committee, with the minutes of evidence, and the statement attached to it, was printed and published by order of Parliament. It occupies more than one hundred and fifty folio pages, and contains in substance;—that the committee, after a careful examination of all the evidence they had been able to collect, were of opinion, that the unprecedented high price of gold bullion must be *principally* attributed to an excessive issue of the notes of the Bank of England, which in consequence of this excess, had depreciated in value; and recommended as the *only* remedy for the evil, as well as the only means of averting impending disasters much more serious, a compulsory resumption of the cash payments of the Bank, *within the period of* TWO *years.* The whole country it

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will be remembered, was divided into bullionists and anti-bullionists. But it is not thought necessary to enter into a dispute carried on in a strong party spirit, and in which both parties were probably somewhat mistaken. Sufficient is the fact of the difference—the danger of it—and the certainty of the same causes producing the same effects. *Mr. Huskisson* was among the many able defenders of the Report, having been himself a member of the committee; and his pamphlet, which went through seven editions, tended more to shake the credit of our paper, than the writings of any other author; yet the same Mr. Huskisson is now holding the helm of the Exchequer, and has issued in one year, twenty millions of Exchequer Bills, in exchange for a like number of inconvertible Bank of England notes! How does that Right Honourable gentleman account to his conscience and his judgment for this inconsistency? Must we refer to his places and pensions? As to the probability of the Bank paying again ALL their notes in specie, are the Directors less connected with government—are their issues decreased, or their discounts more limited? And when do they manifest this disposition, or, as the Courier terms it, this "*concession?*" When the price of bullion is little above the Mint price—after the Bank has *exorbitantly* profited by its peculation on the public. However, the Restriction Act has not yet expired without being renewed; nor have those acts been repealed, making Bank paper virtually a legal tender. And even supposing it should actually resume its payments, can it be expected to continue them long, in the event of a new war, or another rise in the price of bullion? Will not another restriction be enacted, with the

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plausible precedent of the former having maintained Public Credit? Would a resumption of cash payments pay off a fraction of the National Debt? 'Tis true that it would very materially prevent its increase, and for that very reason, it is a very unlikely measure to be permitted by the ministry; for as long as they pursue their present continental policy, so long will their bill-trade be continued. It is reported that the Bank mean to call in all their one and two-pound notes, and not to issue any below five pounds. *When* this is done, it will certainly be a good sign of amendment, but I fear it would not be of long continuance.

Indeed the elements of war were never scattered in such abundance over both hemispheres as they are at this period. In Europe, both monarchs and their people seem equally discontented. I see the vulture of *legitimacy* preying on the people, and fed by every royal tyrant on the Continent—I observe their subjects grievously disappointed at being denied the solemn promise of their kings—an extended representation. All Germany was roused against its gallic conqueror by a sacred covenant of freedom, guaranteed on the part of its rulers....and in what instance have these despots performed a portion of that agreement, which gratitude and policy should have rendered inviolate? The same secret societies which overturned the power of the French emperor, are now embodied against their own governments—their grievances are rendered more permanent, their chains more firmly riveted. Have any one of these potentates much reduced their military establishments? Are they not eyeing each other with jealous and covetous looks—the Russians and the Austrians towards Turkey and Italy—and France crouching like an Indian tyger, till she can

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seize the moment for springing on her enemies? May we not by so outrageously garrisoning her, renew the horrors of a Sicilian vespers? How are we weakening the only power in Europe able to repress the annual incursions of Russia—a collossal power who has invaded every neighbouring country, and is herself impregnable? Will the Portuguese long tender obedience to an abdicated throne? What an uncertain tenure do we ourselves possess over an overgrown empire. We see Napoleon yet *alive*—his son the nucleus of future intrigues—the "Balance of Trade" completely disorganized—the "Balance of Power" altogether overthrown—We see the Duchy of Warsaw and half Gallicia surrendered to Russia—half of Saxony, Pomerania, with the Ecclesiastical Electorates of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves consigned to Prussia aud the Duke of Hesse Darmstadtz—the independent republics of Genoa and Venice allotted to the King of Sardinia and Austria—and Norway to the King of Sweden! And, in the words of a French pamphlet lately suppressed, does not the political world exhibit the spectacle of a singular *transfusion* of nations, when conquerors come to guard the conquered; and the conquered are sent to maintain the allegiance of the conquerors? Thus we see Prussians occupy Leipsic, and Saxons Berlin; the Dutch Brussells, and Belgians Amsterdam; the Austrians Milan, and Italians Vienna; the Russians Warsaw, and Poles Petersburg—to say nothing of the transfusion of English to Ireland—of Irish to England—of English to Hanover, and Hanoverians to Britain! The Spanish colonies emancipating themselves from the mother country—our own islands in the focus of insurrection, and India legislated for in

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Leadenhall Street! Such is the *peaceful attitude* of Europe! Such the situation of things in which "his Majesty has received most gratifying assurances of the friendly dispositions of Foreign Powers towards us!" Here are the consolidated blessings of the Vienna Congress! Here proof positive of the *wisdom* of the premier, the *honesty* of Lord Castlereagh, the *moral philanthropy* of my Lord Sidmouth! Here, says Mr. Laureat Southey, in his letter to Mr. William Smith, is the state of the Home Department, and the glorious result of Mr. Pitt's politics—"greedi-" ness of gain, looseness of principle, half knowledge, " vice, poverty, wretchedness, disaffection, and " political insecurity"—" nor can it be much longer " endured, that the extremes of ignorance, and " wretchedness, and brutality, should exist in the " very centre of civilized society. There can be no " safety with a populace half Luddite, half Lazza-" roni! Let us not deceive ourselves. *We are ar-" rived at that state in which the extremes of in-" equality are become intolerable!*" p. 30.—Glorious consequences of the divine Government of the "heaven-born Minister!" Kingdoms are now carved up as readily as a Brighton turbot, or a master-tailor fashions a new pattern. The people are dealt out with all the ease of a Pall-Mall "Greek" shuffling a pack of cards! And what is the "Holy Alliance, in the name of the Holy Trinity," but the type of some unhallowed combination against either Jews, Mahometans, or Christians?

> " Nulla fides regni sociis omnisque potestas
> Impatiens consortis erat."
>
> No faith of partnership dominion owns;
> Still discord hovers o'er divided thrones.

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We have guaranteed Lewis his *right* to the French crown, though he had broken the charter of his country's rights. But what are the rights of the people in these days? The people, says Dr. Stoddart, are "*nothing but a heap of rubbish.*" Truly, most sapient politician, for never have their interests been so flagrantly insulted.

"To meet the exigencies of the times, it is absolutely necessary to abandon those temporary and *journalier* schemes of policy, which, looking only to instant emergencies, and to present obstacles, proceed from expedient to expedient, and add the uncertainty of chance to a Machiavelian contempt of right. Between the high prerogative doctrines, and the reveries of abstract democracy, there exists a mezzo termine, in which alone the nations of Europe can settle into permanent tranquillity: but to attain this point requires much more of philosophy, and a more generalizing perception, than has hitherto guided the councils either of the restored king, or of the Congress of Vienna.—Of what use is the temporary occupation of France by the allied armies, but to give that weight to the government, which will enable it to adopt a generous and liberal line of policy? If that end be not obtained, if the people of France be not satisfied, any despotism that five years can organize, may be overthrown in a moment; and the king, to retain his power, must be content to remain for the rest of his life in *statu* pupillari, and to hold his sceptre in a feudal subjection to the allies, who placed it in his hands. After the numerous and extraordinary events which have taken place in Europe, it would be ridiculous to affect a prophetic insight into the revolutions that are immediately to ensue. The reigning family may continue on the throne for many years; for there is neither confidence among individuals, nor concentration enough of the means of opposition to depose them, without the concurrence of some accidental shock. They may on the other hand be swept off from power in a moment, for the discontent is general, and the public opinion

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decidedly against them. The single circumstance of the domination of foreigners might drive the whole nation to arms, should a leader appear possessed of the confidence and affections of the people. Upon the whole, however, the chances in favour of the permanence of the existing order of things are few: the probabilities of its speedy dissolution are numerous and weighty. If the attention be turned from the internal condition of France, to the state of Europe at large, the causes of mutation will appear more numerous, and influential. The condition of England, *the centre and very soul of the coalition against the revolution, is critical.* If from England, the attention is turned to continental affairs, it meets with an assemblage of heterogeneous and hostile elements, held together by the operation of force, and in compliance with the interests of a few individuals, not united by the cementing bond of public utility, and the common good. In Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, and Poland, the natural boundaries of kingdoms violated, the interests and feelings of nations despised, there remain aggregates, rather than masses; collections of individuals, rather than communities or states. By the contradiction of prejudices and opinions, by the abrupt subversion of customs and habits, the relations of sovereign and people are exchanged for those of the task-master and slaves. The European republic thus disjointed, the Christian population thus dissatisfied, all settled and established nations of right are sacrificed to the ambition and avarice of a few military chieftains.

In circumstances thus unnatural and perverted, it is not surprising that revolutionary principles have disseminated themselves from the Tagus to the Neva: and that a spirit of liberty, the eldest born offspring of the art of printing, continues to impress indelible charges upon every nation of the civilized world. Before this influence, existing institutions must bend; before this illumination, abuses and absurd combinations must disappear, or society will eventually dissolve and founder, to be re-cast in a mould more adapted to exist-

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ing feelings, co-ordinate with the interests, and commensurate with the necessities of the great mass of mankind."

The insecurity of the Bourbon dynasty is notorious; and the probability of its expulsion recognized by all parties. A new contest immediately commences; it is an event almost certain; war having become a great trade, and the interest of thousands; and the concurrence of a majority of the Commons in all the measures and wishes of the ministry being equally as sure. Indeed our strong and continued remonstrances have had no more effect in reforming that honourable House, than the addresses of the Society for the Suppression of Vice have wrought honour and chastity in the lewd courtezans of the *theatre* lobbies.

Another most mournful feature in the present situation of the country, is the death of almost all those great leading characters, whose eloquence and public endeavours have hitherto somewhat stemmed the torrent of corruption. But, alas! the last remaining three, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Horner, and Mr. Ponsonby, have been swept off the political stage. All is now a dreary and gloomy void; and we have little remaining of that integrity and talent, which, aided by a commanding genius, preserved the people from despondency and faction, and forcibly concentrated their attention on proper objects. We are bereft of that wisdom which might have redeemed the errors of intoxicated youth. And I do believe, had Mr. Pitt been alive, he would long ere this have retraced his steps; and would have perceived the frightful distension of that financial bubble, so dangerously concealed in the semblance of apparent wealth. But who are left behind—the remnant of that luminous era, when so many great patriots

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have adorned our history? Who have succeeded Fox and Sheridan, Wyndham, Burke, and Hamilton? The planets, the comets, and the fixed stars of our system have passed away—a gloomy twilight has succeeded; nothing is visible, save a milky-way of Castlereaghs, Cannings, Vansittarts, Hiley Addingtons, Bragge Bathursts, Curtis's, and Stock Jobbers!

It is therefore particularly necessary that we should think for ourselves, and that we should awake from the torpor which has tended to produce the present imminent danger. We may be florid in the face, and yet sick at heart; and Paine's celebrated characteric of Burke's pamphlet, may one day be applied to the nation—that, "*it rose as a rocket, and fell like the stick!*"

We have been greatly deceived as to those things needful to make us a *moral*, wealthy, powerful, and a great country. Immense colonies, monopolies, and tyrranizing *ascendancy* are not necessary to our prosperity: indeed they are most adverse, exciting envy, and envy contention. They nourish within themselves the seeds of ruin; and we have only to observe the consequences that have visited all who have hitherto engrossed them. It has been remarked that the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the English, and all nations which have successively pretended to a monopoly of commerce, have been exposed to continual wars, and have "terrorised" the globe by their cruelties and devastations. The principles of free trade, founded on the theory of Adam Smith, can alone insure *general* and *permanent* prosperity. "A state, whose principal riches consist in the product of an industry which is not its own,

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that is, which is not inherent in its soil, or determined by the excess of its local productions—such a state is ever in a precarious situation; it enjoys only an artificial power." Babylon, Tyre, Palmyra, Carthage, Genoa, Venice, Hamburgh, Amsterdam, Lisbon, Antwerp, and Cadiz, are proofs of this assertion. Commerce is naturally attended with results which are infinitely advantageous; but its excess is also attended with certain consequent and unavoidable evils, which no political regulations can prevent—excess of fictitious riches—and consequent wars, luxury, avarice, profligacy, corruption, and fraud. These after a time must terminate in ruin; they always have done so, and they ever will. Nothing is a greater sign of approaching dissolution, than a standing army in time of peace—nothing so shockingly demoralizes a people; it was of all others the most intolerable grievance of our ancestors, and that which they viewed with the greatest jealousy. Lord Bacon remarks, that "rebellions of the belly are the most dangerous." Let the British ministry then radically reform all abuses. Can it be supposed, that the sciences of government and religion are perfect, or that they do not require those renovations and alterations constantly requisite for the improvement and perfection of all other sciences? Instead of overfeeding the few, let the ravenous hunger of the many be satisfied; and do not let us lust after colonies and continental priority. In the Hebrew Proverbs, is the following wise invocation:—

"Two things have I required of thee O Lord;
"deny me them not before I die: Remove far from
"me vanity and lies; give me neither poverty nor
"riches; feed me with food convenient for me,

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" lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, who is " the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal, and take " the name of my God in vain."

I shall also advise on the score of Paganism. We must have observed that the system has constantly required an idol and a d———l. Mr. Pitt it appears was not immortal; but idolators must have a graven image, so another will be stuck up. And a powerful one is wanted to keep the wandering satellites together, as was lately manifest in the contention for "*Protestant ascendancy*" on the late orgies in celebration of his nativity. Whenever a certain foreign valet is promoted upper servant, then a *Peel* will be rung for the advent of another deity; the signs of the times are very ominous—the R. is said to have declared him the only man fit to be Prime Minister! And Ireland is the seminary of our legislators, the nursery whence our young statesmen are imported into D———g Street. Now, we deserve all the horrors of Pagan Tartarus, if we ever again bow the knee to an inexperienced youth; if we swallow *orange peel* we shall merit the sickness such unwholesome bitters must inevitably produce.

Then we have had many Lucifers. The mystery of *Junius*—the democratical *Washington*—the demagogue *Wilkes*, the meddling *Tom Paine*—Mr. Justice *Godwin*—the malicious sly *Horne Tooke*—the monster *Bonaparte* (who is still in terrorem, only bound for a thousand days); and successively Mr. Philanthropist *Spence*, Mr. Orator *Hunt*, the empirical *Dr. Watson*, (ah! a doctor and apothecary *are* the real ones) then cheap *Cobbett*—and since he has been kicked out of heaven, we are anxiously waiting in most awful suspense for another. The GREEN

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BAG had nearly escaped me—a compound of all the above—a thorough Pandora's box, the opening of which has let such pestiferous fumes, as a long fumigation will scarcely expel from our atmosphere.

I really think we must be sick of this idolatry and demoniacal rage; and are ready to exclaim with Atlas, whom a facetious Latin poet places before the omnipotent gods on Mount Olympus in Parliament assembled, "when I undertook the job of bearing all "this weight, I never calculated on the prolific "fecundity of your omnipotent majesties; but you "have so increased of late years, as to have become "a most intolerable burthen, and I must some how "or other be eased of the load, or I'll assuredly drop "you!"

IMLAC.

London, Nov. 1, 1817.

P. S. Since the above Dedication was written, God has taken away one of our only remaining hopes. I am little inclined to call in question the justice and wisdom of *divine* administration, and trust that this melancholy event may eventually conduce to the interests of mankind. But it is difficult in the first burst of sorrow to reconcile our minds to its necessity or use; and here there was apparently a bright promise, that the chastity and honour of her royal conduct would have set an elevated and virtuous example to the rising generation, and somewhat restored the fallen dignity of the preceding one. Yet she has been called unspotted from a situation where she would have had much temptation to resist, and where so many just expectations have been repeatedly and grievously disappointed.

Nov. 11.

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ESSAY

ON

Public Credit,

BY

DAVID HUME.

(FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1752.)

IT appears to have been the common practice of antiquity, to make provision during peace, for the necessities of war, and to hoard up treasures beforehand as the instruments either of conquest or defence; without trusting to extraordinary impositions, much less to borrowing, in times of disorder and confusion. Besides the immense sums which were amassed by Athens, and by the Ptolemies, and other successors of Alexander; we learn from Plato,* that the frugal Lacedemonians had also collected a great treasure; and Arrian† and Plutarch‡ take notice of the riches which Alexander got possession of on the conquest

* Alcib. I. † Lib. iii.

‡ Plut. *in vita* Alex. He makes these treasures amount to 80,000 talents, or about 15 millions Sterl. Quintus Curtius (lib. v. cap. 2.) says, that Alexander found in Susa above 50,000 talents.

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of Susa and Ecbatana, and which were reserved, some of them, from the time of Cyrus. If I remember right, the scripture also mentions the treasure of Hezekiah and the Jewish Princes; as profane history does that of Philip and Perseus, kings of Macedon. The ancient republics of Gaul had commonly large sums in reserve.* Every one knows the treasure seized in Rome by Julius Cæsar, during the civil wars; and we find afterwards, that the wiser emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Severus, &c. always discovered the prudent foresight of saving great sums against any public exigency.

On the contrary our modern expedient, which has become very general, is to mortgage the public revenues, and to trust that posterity will pay off the incumbrances contracted by their ancestors; and they having before their eyes so good an example of their wise fathers, have the same prudent reliance on their posterity; who, at last, from necessity more than choice, are obliged to place the same confidence in a new posterity. But not to waste time in declaiming against a practice which appears ruinous beyond all controversy, it seems pretty apparent, that the ancient maxims are, in this respect, more prudent than the modern; even though the latter had been confined within some reasonable bounds, and had ever, in any instance, been attended with such frugality, in time of peace, as to discharge the debts incurred by an expensive war. *For why should the case be so different between the public and an individual, as to make us establish different maxims*

* Strabo. lib. iv.

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of conduct for each? If the funds of the former be greater, its necessary expences are proportionably larger; if its resources be more numerous they are not infinite; and as its frame should be calculated for a much longer duration than the date of a single life, or even of a family, it should embrace maxims, large, durable, and generous, agreeably to the supposed extent of its existence. To trust to chances and temporary expedients is, indeed, what the necessity of human affairs frequently renders unavoidable; but whoever voluntarily depend on such resources, have not necessity, but their own folly, to accuse for their misfortunes, when any such befal them.

If the abuses of treasures be dangerous, either by engaging the state in rash enterprizes, or making it neglect military discipline, in confidence of its riches; the abuses of mortgaging are more certain and inevitable; poverty, impotence, and subjection to foreign powers.

According to modern policy, war is attended with every destructive circumstance, loss of men, increase of taxes, decay of commerce, dissipation of money, devastation by sea and land. According to ancient maxims, the opening of the public treasure, as it produced an uncommon affluence of gold and silver, served as a temporary encouragement to industry, and atoned, in some degree, for the inevitable calamities of war.

It is very tempting to a minister to employ such an expedient, as enables him to make a great figure during his administration, without overburdening the people with taxes, or exciting any immediate clamours against himself. The practice, therefore,

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of contracting debt, will almost infallibly be abused in every government. It would scarcely be more imprudent to give a prodigal son a credit in every banker's shop in London, than to empower a statesman to draw bills, in this manner, upon posterity.

What then shall we say to the new paradox, that public incumbrances are of themselves advantageous, independent of the necessity of contracting them; and that any state, even though it were not pressed by a foreign enemy, could not possibly have embraced a wiser expedient for promoting commerce and riches, than to create funds, and debts and taxes, without limitation? Reasonings, such as these, might naturally have passed for trials of wit among rhetoricians, like the panegyrics on folly and a fever, on Busiris, and Nero, had we not seen such absurd maxims patronized by great ministers, and by a whole party among us.

Let us examine the consequences of public debts, both in our domestic, management, by their influence on commerce and industry; and in our foreign transactions, by their effect on wars and negociations.

Public securities are with us become a kind of money, and pass as readily at the current price as gold or silver. Wherever any profitable undertaking offers itself, how expensive soever, there are never wanting hands enow to embrace it: nor need a trader, who has sums in the public stocks, fear to launch out into the most extensive trade: since he is possessed of funds which will answer the most sudden demand that can be made upon him. No merchant thinks it necessary to keep by him any

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considerable cash, Bank-stock, or India-bonds, especially the latter, serve all the same purposes; because he can dispose of them, or pledge them to a banker, in a quarter of an hour; and at the same time they are not idle, even when in his escritoire, but bring him in a constant revenue. In short, our national debts furnish merchants with a species of money, that is continually multiplying in their hands, and produces sure gain, besides the profits of their commerce. This must enable them to trade upon less profit. The small profit of the merchant renders the commodity cheaper, causes a greater consumption, quickens the labour of the common people, and helps to spread arts and industry throughout the whole society.

There are also, we may observe, in England, and in all states, which have both commerce and public debts, a set of men, who are half merchants, half stock-holders, and may be supposed willing to trade for small profits; because commerce is not their principal or sole support, and their revenues in the funds are a sure resource for themselves and their families. Were there no funds, great merchants would have no expedient for realizing or securing any part of their profit, but by making purchases of land; and land has many disadvantages in comparison of funds. Requiring more care and inspection, it divides the time and attention of the merchant; upon any tempting offer or extraordinary accident in trade, it is not so easily converted into money; and as it attracts too much, both by the many natural pleasures it affords, and the authority it gives, it soon converts the citizen into the country gentleman. More men, therefore, with large stocks and

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incomes, may naturally be supposed to continue in trade, where there are public debts; and this, it must be owned, is of some advantage to commerce, by diminishing it profits, promoting circulation, and encouraging industry.

But, in opposition to these two favourable circumstances, perhaps of no very great importance, weigh the many disadvantages which attend our public debts, in the whole interior economy of the state; you will find no comparison between the ill and the good which result from them.

First, It is certain that national debts cause a mighty confluence of people and riches to the capital, by the great sums levied in the provinces to pay the interest, and perhaps, too, by the advantages in trade above-mentioned, which they give the merchants in the capital above the rest of the kingdom. The question is, whether, in our case, it be for the public interest, that so many privileges should be conferred on London, which has already arrived at such an enormous size, and seems still increasing? Some men are apprehensive of the consequences. For my own part, I cannot forbear thinking, that, though the head is undoubtedly too large for the body, yet that great city is so happily situated, that its excessive bulk causes less inconvenience than even a smaller capital to a greater kingdom. There is more difference between the prices of all provisions in Paris and Languedoc, than between those in London and Yorkshire. The immense greatness, indeed, of London, under a government which admits not of discretionary power, renders the people factious, mutinous, seditious, and even perhaps rebellious. But to this evil, the national debts themselves tend to provide a remedy. The first

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visible eruption, or even immediate danger of public disorders, must alarm all the stock-holders, whose property is the most precarious of any; and will make them fly to the support of government, whether menaced by Jacobitish violence or democratical phrenzy.*

Secondly, Public stocks, being a kind of paper-credit, have all the disadvantages attending that species of money. *They banish gold and silver from the most considerable commerce of the state, reduce them to common circulation, and by that means render all provisions and labour dearer than otherwise they would be.*

Thirdly, The taxes, which are levied to pay the interests of these debts, are apt either to heighten the price of labour, or be *an oppression on the poorer sort.*

Fourthly, As foreigners possess a great share of our national funds, they render the public, in a manner, tributary to them, and may in time occasion the transport of our people and our industry.

Fifthly, The greater part of the public stock being always in the hands of idle people, who live on their revenue, our funds, in that view, give great encouragement to an useless and inactive life.

But though the injury that arises to commerce and industry from our public funds, will appear upon balancing the whole, not inconsiderable, it is trivial in comparison of the prejudice that results to the state considered as a body politic, which must support itself in the society of nations, and have various transactions with other states in wars and negociations

* London Tavern, Mansion-house, and Bench of Magistrates to wit!—See History of the Stoppage of the Bank of England.

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The ill there is pure and unmixed, without any favourable circumstance to atone for it; and it is an ill too of a nature the highest and most important.

We have, indeed, been told, that the public is no weaker upon account of its debts, since they are mostly due among ourselves, and bring as much property to one as they take from another. It is like transferring money from the right hand to the left, which leaves the person neither richer nor poorer than before. Such loose reasonings and specious comparisons will always pass, where we judge not upon principles. I ask, Is it possible, in the nature of things, to overburden a nation with taxes, even where the sovereign resides among them? The very doubt seems extravagant; since it is requisite, in every community, that there be a certain proportion observed between the laborious and the idle part of it. But if all our present taxes be mortgaged, must we not invent new ones? And may not this matter be carried to a length that is ruinous and destructive?

In every nation, there are always some methods of levying money more easy than others, agreeably to the way of living of the people, and the commodities they make use of. In Great Britain, the excises upon malt and beer afford a large revenue; because the operations of malting and brewing are tedious, and are impossible to be concealed; and at the same time, these commodities are not so absolutely necessary to life, as that the raising of their price would very much affect the poorer sort. These taxes being all mortgaged, what difficulty to find new ones! *What vexation and ruin of the poor!*

Duties upon consumptions are more equal and easy than those upon possessions. What a loss to

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the public, that the former are all exhausted, and that we must have recourse to the more grievous method of levying taxes!

Were all the proprietors of land only stewards to the public, must not necessity force them to practise all the arts of oppression used by stewards; where the absence or negligence of the proprietor render them secure against inquiry?

It will scarcely be asserted, that no bounds ought ever to be set to national debts; and that the public would be no weaker, were twelve or fifteen shillings in the pound, land tax, mortgaged, with all the present customs and excises. There is something, therefore, in the case, beside the mere transferring of property from the one hand to another. In 500 years, the posterity of those now in the coaches, and of those upon the boxes, will probably have changed places, without affecting the public by these revolutions.

Suppose the public once fairly brought to that condition, to which it is hastening with such amazing rapidity; suppose the land to be taxed eighteen or nineteen shillings in the pound; for it can never bear the whole twenty; suppose all the excises and customs to be screwed up to the utmost which the nation can bear, without entirely losing its commerce and industry; and suppose that all those funds are mortgaged to perpetuity, and that the invention and wit of all our projectors can find no new imposition, which may serve as the foundation of a new loan; and let us consider the necessary consequences of this situation. Though the imperfect state of our political knowledge, and the narrow capacities of men, make it difficult to foretel the effects which

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will result from any untried measure, the seeds of ruin are here scattered with such profusion as not to escape the eye of the most careless observer.

In this unnatural state of society, the only persons, who possess any revenue beyond the immediate effects of their industry, are the stock-holders, who draw almost all the rent of the land and houses, besides the produce of all the customs and excises. *These are men, who have no connections with the state, who can enjoy their revenue in any part of the globe in which they choose to reside, who will naturally bury themselves in the capital, or in great cities; and who will sink into the lethargy of a stupid and pampered luxury, without spirit, ambition, or enjoyment.* Adieu to all ideas of nobility, *gentry, and family.**

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* The following extract is from an Address to Lord Sidmouth, just published. Nothing can more clearly prove the foresight of Mr. Hume.

"The picture which England exhibits to the world at this moment, "taking a *moral* view of the matter, is one of the most useful, though "of the most horrid, that ever was exhibited to mankind. Penal "Statutes have gone on increasing both in number and in severity, "and that too in a surprisingly augmented proportion year after "year during the present King's reign, till, at last, there are more "persons condemned to death in one single year than was condemn-"ed to death during the whole forty-five years of the reign of "Queen Elizabeth; and, if we except cases of rebellion, or "what was called rebellion, during the reign of the Stewarts, "the last ten years have seen more persons condemned to death "than were condemned to death during the whole course of "the wicked reigns of the James's and the Charles's. This is not "because it is George the Third who has reigned; it is not because "the House of Hanover has been upon the throne; for the nation "has known very free and happy days since that House has been "upon the throne of England; but, it is because a new system of "Government has been introduced; because a Funding System has "formed part of the Government. Hence long and sanguinary "wars; hence an enormous standing army in time of peace; hence "an upstart race of rich monied men, who have no feeling in com-

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The stocks can be transferred in an instant; and being in such a fluctuating state, will seldom be trans-

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" mon with the mass of the people; who have no sentiment of " attachment to country or to freedom; who have trampled down " and destroyed all the little gentry of the country, who are so closely " connected both in interests and feelings with the people, and hence " that desolating system of taxation, which now takes ten pounds " out of every eighteen pounds of the journeymen's and labourer's " wages, which has left to no land proprietor even any thing he can " truly call his own, which has in many instances acted as a direct " confiscation of property, which has robbed the heirs of estates of " part of the estates entailed upon them, which has violated all the " contracts between man and man, which has set at nought the " Deeds of the living, and the Testaments of the dead, which, with a " hand as unsparing as that of the Pestilence, has plunged into ruin, " misery, and mourning, a people who inhabit a country abounding " in all the means of affording health, plenty, and power, and culti- " vated by the industry of that people in a manner which has given " to it even those things which nature seemed to have denied.

" It is in vain, my Lord, to pretend, that this dreadful change has " arisen from causes with which the Government has had nothing to " do. To attribute the change to accident is folly in the extreme; " and to ascribe it to the dispensations of Providence would be " '*blasphemous*' indeed, especially after we have witnessed a solemn " procession to St. Paul's to return *thanks* to God for the *success* of " the measures of the last twenty-five years!

" No, my Lord; it is not accident, it is not the displeasure of " Providence to which the misery, the hangings, the transport- " ings, the imprisonings, and the whippings, are to be ascribed. " It is to the Funding, the Taxing System. There have been " more people actually executed at the prosecution of the Bank " of England alone, than were executed during the previous " two hundred years, for all the crimes committed in the coun- " try put together. It is, however the intolerable burthen " of the taxes that has produced those innumerable condemna- " tions to death; those endless transportings and imprison- " ings; those boundless jails and houses of correction which are " now built and building all over the kingdom; and which has " also produced no small part of that insanity, which, of late years, " has increased in our country to such a degree, as to make the care " of lunatics become a serious public burden, and the cause of a new " law imposing a new and heavy duty upon the counties. The " truth is, that human misery leads to one of three events: madness

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mitted during three generations from father to son. Or were they to remain ever so long in one family, they convey no hereditary authority or credit to the possessor; and by this means, the several ranks of men, which form a kind of independent magistracy in a state, instituted by the hand of nature, are entirely lost; and every man in authority derives his influence from the commission alone of the sovereign. *No expedient remains for preventing or suppressing insurrections, but mercenary armies: No expedient at all remains for resisting tyranny:* ELECTIONS ARE SWAYED BY BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION ALONE: *And the middle power between king and people being totally removed, a grievous despotism must infallibly prevail.* The landholders, despised for their poverty, and hated for their oppressions, will be utterly unable to make any opposition to it.

Though a resolution should be formed by the legislature never to impose any tax which hurts commerce and discourages industry, it will be impossible for

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" from grief, robbery and murder to relieve want; or, to instant " death from starvation. If you were to search the mad-houses, " my Lord; if you were to search the jails; if you were to search " the last miserable abodes of feebleness, you would find what I say " to be true, and you would find, what would be quite enough to " make an English Statemen's heart sink within him, that these " shocking evils have, for the far greater part, been produced by " the measures of the Government, and by the government I mean, " as I said before, the Boroughmongers and their instruments.

" Will any of those who live in ease upon the people's labour " attempt to deny this increase of insanity and of crimes? If they " will, I answer by referring your Lordship to the Reports laid be- " fore your own House, whence it appears, that lunatics, criminals, " and paupers, have all been augmented in number more than " *four fold* since the commencement of Burke's crusade against the " liberties of France.

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men, in subjects of such extreme delicacy, to reason so justly as never to be mistaken; or amidst difficulties so urgent, never to be seduced from their resolution. The continual fluctuations in commerce require continual alterations in the nature of the taxes, which exposes the legislature every moment to the danger both of wilful and involuntary error. And any great blow given to trade, whether by injudicious taxes, or by other accidents, throws the whole system of government into confusion.

But what expedient can the public now employ, even supposing trade to continue in the most flourishing condition, in order to support its foreign wars and enterprizes, and to defend its own honour and interest, or those of its allies! I do not ask how the public is to exert such a prodigious power as it has maintained during our late wars, where we have so much exceeded, not only our own natural strength, but even that of the greatest empires. This extravagance is the abuse complained of as the source of all the dangers to which we are at present exposed. But since we must suppose great commerce and opulence to remain, even after every fund is mortgaged, these riches must be defended by proportional power; and whence is the public to derive the revenue which supports it? It must plainly be from a continual taxation of the annuitants, or, which is the same thing, from mortgaging anew, on every exigency, a certain part of their annuities; and thus making them contribute to their own defence, and to that of the nation. But the difficulties attending this system of policy, will easily appear, whether we suppose the king to have become absolute master, or to be still controlled by national

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councils, in which the annuitants themselves must necessarily bear the principal sway.

If the prince has become absolute, as may naturally be expected from this situation of affairs, it is so easy for him to increase his exactions upon the annuitants, which amount only to the retaining money in his own hands, that this species of property would soon lose all its credit, and the whole income of every individual in the state must lie entirely at the mercy of the sovereign: A degree of despotism which no oriental monarchy has ever yet attained. If, on the contrary, the consent of the annuitants be requisite for every taxation, they will never be persuaded to contribute sufficiently even to the support of government; as the diminution of their revenue must in that case be very sensible, would not be disguised under the appearance of a branch of excise or customs, and would not be shared by any other order of the state, who are already supposed to be taxed to the utmost. There are instances, in some republics, of a hundredth penny, and sometimes of the fiftieth, being given to the support of the state: but this is always an extraordinary exertion of power, and can never become the foundation of a constant national defence. *We have always found, where a government has mortgaged all its revenues, that it necessarily sinks into a state of languor, inactivity, and impotence.*

Such are the inconveniencies, which may reasonably be foreseen, of this situation, to which Great Britain *is visibly tending.* Not to mention the numberless inconveniences which cannot be foreseen, and which must result from so monstrous a situation as that of making the public the chief or sole proprietor of land, besides investing it with every branch of customs

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and excise, which the fertile imagination of ministers and projectors have beeen able to invent.

I MUST CONFESS, THAT THERE IS A STRANGE SUPINENESS, FROM LONG CUSTOM, CREEPED INTO ALL RANKS OF MEN, WITH REGARD TO PUBLIC DEBTS, not unlike what divines so vehemently complain of with regard to their religious doctrines. We all own, that the most sanguine imagination cannot hope either that this, or any future ministry, will be possessed of such rigid and steady frugality, as to make a considerable progress in the payment of our debts; or that the situation of foreign affairs will, for any long time, allow them leisure and tranquillity for such an undertaking. What then is to become of us? Were we ever so good Christians, and ever so resigned to Providence, this, methinks, were a curious question even considered as a speculative one, and what it might not be altogether impossible to form some conjectural solution of. The events here will depend little upon the contingencies of battles, negociations, intrigues, and factions. There seems to be a natural progress of things, which may guide our reasoning. As it would have required but a moderate share of prudence, when we first began this practice of mortgaging, to have foretold, from the nature of men and of ministers, that things would necessarily be carried to the length we see; so now, that they have at last happily reached it, it may not be difficult to guess at the consequences. IT MUST, INDEED, BE ONE OF THESE TWO EVENTS; EITHER THE NATION MUST DESTROY PUBLIC CREDIT, OR PUBLIC CREDIT WILL DESTROY THE NATION. *It is impossible that they can both sub-*

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sist, after the manner they have hitherto been managed, in this, as well as in some other countries.

There was, indeed, a scheme for the payment of our debts, which was proposed by an excellent citizen, Mr. Hutchinson, above thirty years ago, and which was much approved of by some men of sense, but never was likely to take effect. He asserted, that there was a fallacy in imagining that the public owed this debt; for that really every individual owed a proportional share of it, and paid, in his taxes, a proportional share of the interest, beside the expense of levying these taxes. Had we not better, then, says he, make a distribution of the debt among ourselves, and each of us contribute a sum suitable to his property, and by that means discharge at once all our funds and public mortgages? He seems not to have considered, that the laborious poor pay a considerable part of the taxes by their annual consumptions, though they could not advance, at once, a proportional part of the sum required. Not to mention, that property in money and stock in trade might easily be concealed or disguised; and that visible property in lands and houses would really at last answer for the whole: An inequality and oppression which never would be submitted to. But though this project is not likely to take place, it is not altogether improbable, that, when the nation becomes heartily sick of their debts, and is cruelly oppressed by them, some daring projector may arise with visionary schemes for their discharge. And as public credit will begin, by that time, to be a little frail, the least touch will destroy it, as happened in France during the regency; and in this manner it will die of the doctor.

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But it is more probable, *that the breach of national faith will be the necessary effect of* wars, defeats, misfortunes, and public calamities, OR EVEN PERHAPS OF VICTORIES AND CONQUESTS. I must confess, when I see princes and states fighting and quarreling amidst their debts, funds, and public mortgages, it always brings to my mind a match of cudgel-playing fought in a China shop. How can it be expected, that sovereigns will spare a species of property, which is pernicious to themselves and to the public, when they have so little compassion on lives and properties that are useful to both? *Let the time come (and surely it will come)* when the new funds, created for the exigencies of the year, are not subscribed to, and raise not the money projected. Suppose, either that the cash of the nation is exhausted; or that our faith, which has hitherto been so ample, begins to fail us. Suppose, that, in this distress, the nation is threatened with an invasion; a rebellion is suspected or broken out at home; a squadron cannot be equipped for want of pay, victuals, or repairs; or even a foreign subsidy cannot be advanced. What must a prince or minister do in such an emergence? The right of self preservation is unalienable in every individual, much more in every community: and the folly of our statesmen must then be greater than the folly of those who first contracted debt, or, what is more, than that of those who trusted or continue to trust this security, if these statesmen have the means of safety in their hands, and do not employ them. The funds, created and mortgaged, will by that time bring in a large yearly revenue, sufficient for the defence and security of the nation: money is perhaps lying in the exchequer ready for the discharge of the quarterly interest: necessity calls, fear

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urges, reason exhorts, compassion alone exclaims: *the money will immediately be seized for the current service, under the most solemn protestations, perhaps, of being immediately replaced*;* but no more is requisite. The whole fabric, already tottering, falls to the ground, and buries thousands in its ruins. And this, I think, may be called the natural death of public credit. FOR TO THIS PERIOD IT TENDS AS NATURALLY AS AN ANIMAL BODY TO ITS DISSOLUTION AND DESTRUCTION.

So great dupes are the generality of mankind, that, notwithstanding such a violent shock to public credit, as a voluntary bankruptcy in England would occasion, it would not probably be long ere credit would again revive in as flourishing a condition as before. The present king of France, during the late war, borrowed money at a lower interest than ever his grandfather did; and as low as the British parliament, comparing the natural rate of interest in both kingdoms. And though men are commonly more governed by what they have seen, than by what they foresee, with whatever certainty; yet promises, protestations, fair appearances, with the allurements of present interest, have such powerful influence as few are able to resist. Mankind are, in all ages, caught by the same baits; the same tricks, played over and over again, still trepan them. The heights of popularity and patriotism are still the beaten road to power and tyranny; flattery to treachery; standing armies to arbitrary government; and the glory of God to the temporal interest of the clergy. The fear of an everlasting destruction of credit, allowing it to be an evil, is a needless bugbear. A prudent man in reality, would rather lend to the public immediately after we had taken a spunge to our debts than at present; as

* This has already been the case with Sinking Funds.

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much as an opulent knave, even though one could not force him to pay, is a preferable debtor to an honest bankrupt: for the former, in order to carry on business, may find it his interest to discharge his debts, where they are not exorbitant; the latter has it not in his power. The reasoning of Tacitus,* as it is eternally true, is very applicable to our present case. *Sed vulgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum aderat: Stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercabatur: Apud sapientes cassa habebantur, quæ neque dari neque accepi salva republica, poterant.* The public is a debtor, whom no man can oblige to pay, the only check which the creditors have upon her, is the interest of preserving credit; an interest which may easily be overbalanced by a great debt, and by a difficult and extraordinary emergence, even supposing that credit irrecoverable. Not to mention, that a present necessity often forces states into measures which are, strictly speaking, against their interest.

These two events, supposed above, are calamitous, but not the most calamitous. Thousands are thereby sacrificed to the safety of millions: but we are not without danger, that the contrary event may take place, and that millions may be sacrificed for ever to the temporary safety of thousands.† Our popular

* Hist. lib. iii.

† I have heard it has been computed, that all the creditors of the public, natives and foreigners, amount only to 17,000. These make a figure at present on their income; but in case of a public bankruptcy, would, in an instant, become the lowest as well as the most wretched of the people. The dignity and authority of the landed gentry and nobility is much better rooted; and would render the contention very unequal, if ever we come to that extremity. One would incline to assign to this event a very near period, such as half a century, had not our father's prophecies of this kind been already found fallacious, by the duration of our public credit so much beyond all reasonable expectation. When the astrologers in France were every year foretelling the death of Henry IV. *These fellows*, says he, *must be right at last.* We shall, therefore, be more cautious than to

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government, perhaps, will render it difficult or dangerous for a minister to venture on so desperate an expedient as that of a voluntary bankruptcy: and though the House of Lords be altogether composed of proprietors of land, and the house of Commons chiefly; and consequently neither of them can be supposed to have great property in the funds; yet the connections of the members may be so great with the proprietors, as to render them more tenacious of public faith, than prudence, policy, or even justice, strictly speaking, requires: and perhaps too, our foreign enemies may be so politic as to discover, that our safety lies in despair, and may not, therefore, show the danger, open and barefaced, till it be inevitable. The balance of power in Europe, our grandfathers, fathers, and we, have all deemed too unequal to be preserved without our attention and assistance; but our children, weary of the struggle, and fettered with incumbrances, may sit down secure, and see their neighbours oppressed and conquered; till, at last, they themselves and their creditors lie both at the mercy of the conqueror: and this may properly enough be denominated the violent death of our public credit.

These seem to be the events which are not very remote, and which reason forsees as clearly almost as she can do any thing that lies in the womb of time. And though the ancients maintained, that, in order to reach the gift of prophecy, a certain divine fury or madness was requisite, *one may safely affirm, that, in order to deliver such prophecies as these, no more is necessary than merely to be in one's senses, free from the influence of popular madness and DELUSION.*

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assign any precise date; and shall content ourselves with pointing out the event in general. *Mr. Hume's note.*

It is now nearly sixty-six years since this Essay was first published: and there is not on record a more astonishing instance of political wisdom and foresight.

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

CAUSES & CONSEQENCES of the LATE WARS,

AND ON THE

PRESENT SITUATION OF THE KINGDOM,

In illustration of Mr. Hume's Essay.

ADDRESSED TO THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"The welfare of the people is the supreme law."

No one I think will deny the present situation of the political world to be one of wondrous speculation and unprecedented peril. The political structure of the globe for the last 30 years has been shaken by a continued series of awful convulsions. All the powers of mankind in corporeal and intellectual energies have been arrayed in defence and furtherance of scenes of destructive warfare and mutual oppressions—and never was the old proverb more exemplified, that "the weakest goes to the wall." Divisions and differences among public bodies there ever will be, as there are among individuals. But there never were wars more generally admitted to have been disasterous than those in which we have been lately engaged. Many there may have been more barbarous and nearly as extended, but none within the limits of modern history attended with consequences hitherto so momentous, and so unfortunate. They have overturned thrones and extinguished nations, and completely destroyed the former equilibium of Continental

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power. In Europe they have terminated in the restoration of the old Dynasties, with all the imperfections of their antient conformation—if possible, more bigoted, and more disgusting to the times and the people. He who runs from the battle and returns to it again, brings back the same ideas he took away. These disgraceful and horrid wars have annihilated the commerce of more than half the world, by paralysing the hand of industry, and by cutting off, without necessity, the comforts and profits of its peaceful population—in short, *they have* created a larger band of sufferers than ever before lamented the ambition of rulers, or murmured at the abuses of power.

What were the motives alledged for entering into contests which have been so pregnant with disasters and ruinous misfortunes? To whatever causes we may attribute their origin, or however we may be inclined to account for their duration, most certain it is, that their objects will be finally defeated. Were they entered into for the preservation of the established order of Europe? Because in this respect, I believe, they will most assuredly defeat their own ends, and bring on the complete overthrow of that which they pretended to support. Were they intended to annihilate the power of France, or to increase our own riches and commerce? Have they effected either of these purposes? Were they intended to suppress those persons in this country who, in the early part of the French revolution, generously rejoiced in the prospect of improvement in the government of France, and thereby afforded a pretext for the blood thirsty advocates of tyranny to brand them with disaffection? This was the mean and pitiful motive fabricated to ward off the odium so deservedly cast upon those men

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to whom we are indebted for the misfortunes caused by the war. Was it then because all liberal minded persons in the kingdom expressed their joy that a government, which owed its existence to the tyrannies exercised by a despotic monarch, was put aside to make way for one more congenial to the happiness of their fellow-creatures? Was it because this opinion was entertained, that the nation should be involved in all the horrors and iniquities of war? *What interest or right had England to stir up Austria and Prussia against the French revolutionists*—were not her subsidies a traffic in "slaves and bodies of men?" The injustice of these motives, or the more primary one of RESTORING THE BOURBONS, cannot but be obvious. It was this loving consanguinity of kings which has deluged the world with blood, and licensed a system of wholesale murder and barbarian pillage. What possible right could England have to dictate to the French the form of government they should establish? Have I any right to dictate to my neighbour what persons he shall nominate as trustees of his property and children? Was there any one in the kingdom had the least hopes of our being able to arrest the progress of the French revolution, when we were not able, with all our efforts, to prevent our American subjects from establishing the republican form of government which they wished, and which they really did effect by means of that glorious revolution? How many of the Pittite schemes apparently so successfully terminated in 1814, is well known: it was, however, only one act of the tragedy in our favour. A new war broke out, and the French forced their old dynasty again to abdicate. Perhaps here we were justified by the laws of nations in opposing the

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choice which they made of the Emperor Napoleon, since it is a settled principle that, although a nation may chuse a government according to its liking, yet that government must not be inimical or dangerous to its neighbours. Thus, my neighbour may keep a tiger if he chuses in his own garden, but if the beast jumps over into mine, and commits depredation, I may surely prevent that neighbour from keeping such a nuisance. This I conceive to be a parallel case; and as such, Bonaparte's ambition was undoubtedly, and by his own confession, dangerous to the peace and welfare of Europe. We, I believe, first of all excited that ambition, and therefore it may be a question, whether we should not take the consequences. There is, however, another point to be considered in this war—and that is, the policy or expediency of it. Now I do not hesitate to assert, and can prove, that the immense contraction of debt will eventually counterbalance the benefits (if any) and security arising from the expenditure; and I do think it would have been better to have tolerated, at least for a time, the power of Bonaparte, than so madly to have rushed on to his attack. Of what advantage is it, if in trying to save our lives we die in the attempt. The removal of this dreaded "monster" was, they solemnly declared, the *sole* object in view. Of this, I presume, we may be at liberty to form our own private judgment from the facts before us. The immolations at Waterloo caused this war to subside; and, at the expense of near two hundred millions of debt, we did succeed in again overwhelming Bonaparte. Lord Wellington also succeeded in introducing the paternal Louis to his penitent children—though some say, without the consent, if not against the will of the French people;

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and, as Mr. Macirone asserts, without the consent of our allies. The same writer also says, that it was intimated no other monarch would satisfy the British government! Whether this scandal is true, I cannot say, not having been present at the bargain. But this I do know, that Louis did recover his throne, without even the semblance of a Champ de Mars, and by no means indebted to universal suffrage. The English government have guaranteed his right and possession—and as I in my conscience believe, are still keeping up this enormous expenditure, under the special pretence of maintaining peace, but really to maintain the Bourbon legitimates on that throne. What a pity that his holiness, the Pope, should not have been made a party to so precious a transaction. Thus, to use the words of Mr. Sheridan, have we spent one half of our fortune in endeavouring to pull this family down; and the other half in endeavouring to set them up again. And how have they deserved this support? The king is a conscientious man: but how have the younger branches conciliated the French people—has adversity taught them any lesson—have their notions of legislature been at all liberalized—have they lost any of their popish prejudices or superstitions? Somebody observed, "they had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing." Has that beloved Ferdinand, the *reviver* of the Inquisition, and of all anti-christian errors—the embroiderer to the Pontiff—the m******** of his enlightened subjects, and the patron of his bigoted ones—has *this* Bourbon ingratiated himself with his flock? Is *he* the chosen trustee of his people—is he the advocate or promoter of humanity and reason—has he proved his gratitude and sense of our kindness? What inconceivable infatuation!

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Is it for this family we are making ourselves abhorred by our nearest and most wealthy neighbours, for can it be denied that we are unpopular all over the Continent? Is it for this family our expenditure is still ruinously exceeding our income, impoverishing our country, and annihilating our own liberties? Is it for the value of their grateful orders and encouragement of our commerce and manufactures, that we are foregoing all the advantages that would result from cultivating the friendship of the Americans? I thought charity should begin at home: but, no, such is the disinterestedness of executive powers—such their bounden and innate love of one another, their last halfpenny and last drop of blood will be sacrificed on the altar of friendship. When individuals keep bad company, I always suspect their own principles—so is it in governments.

But to return to the subject: this temporary success is only one other scene in the same tragedy, where there have been various changes, and no one resembling another. The plot is not yet developed: the continental nations are not satisfied or even reconciled with their governments. The spirit of the people is not utterly broken; nor do I believe the intrigues of Napoleon have ceased to operate. I do not mean to defend the character or conduct of that wonderful man; *he* was covered with *glory*, even to suffocation; but he was nevertheless covered with wickedness, and his reputation will be shrouded in the execrations of posterity. He never befriended true liberty, except by accident; and ambition made him prodigal of human blood and happiness: but I do assert, that *we* first originated his despotic power—a power it may have been necessary for us to destroy, but

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which has caused such grief and desolation in every country and every private family of Europe. What then will future historians tell of *our* glory? There is an old saying, "if every man swept before his own door we should soon have a clean street." Now in future, instead of meddling with our neighbour's affairs—instead of deceiving ourselves on the perfectibility of an imperfect constitution, I would advise the government to sweep before their own door, and in so doing, to take heed lest they dirty their neighbours.

OF THE

PITTITE DELUSION,

AND THE

Means of supporting and carrying it on.

I SHALL discuss this part of the subject on the broad basis of general interests—not on the petty interests of this or that little corner of the globe, but as a citizen of the world. General independence and universal free trade are the interests of every nation, though they may not be the interest of a few individuals. And nothing is more weak than the jealousy we entertain of one another—like that of one thief who envys a better pick-lock than himself. Why should we be jealous of North America—we are far better without the expence and danger of her dependance, and we gain much more by her independent trade. Besides, we should take a peculiar pride in her rank and progress. She was peopled

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from our own islands, and the affinity of blood still connects many of our families: and possessed of our language, literature, and sciences, is surely a reflected honour on that parent country to whom she indebted for them. And there is perhaps no one misfortune of the Pitt system so much to be deplored as the late unfortunate war. It has engrafted a jealousy on both sides, that may never be eradicated. I can not, however, enter into its causes or consequences, but will hope, that time and our mutual interests will prevent a recurrence; and that their minds have not been corrupted by the serpent of glory.

From this degression, I proceed to Mr. Pitt's motives and means of conducting the war. He so deceived the majority of the country 30 years since, as to make them engage in a war, to preserve (as he said,) their property and personal security, and to insure them against a dissolution of social order, the predicted result of certain prevalent visions on liberty and equality. Now, before we proceed farther let us understand this cant phrase of *liberty*: what I mean by liberty is that form of government which most conduces to the morality and happiness of the greatest number of persons. I know that a despotism either singular or plural does not do so; but I know that a very extended representation of the people, if they be at all educated or enlightened, does tend to that desirable event: and I also think that in the present state of Europe, it is best to join to that democracy —an hereditary monarchy, and an hereditary aristocracy. This is what I mean by liberty in Europe; not running naked, and siezing hold of any thing that comes in the way. In this kingdom I acknow-

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ledge the right of the noble family of Guelphs to the Crown of these realms, they having been chosen by the voice of a much more genuine parliament than the present. We swear to pay them the respect and attachment the laws require, provided they, on their part, sacredly observe and preserve those laws.*

A quarrel was soon entered into with France, and in the war which ensued, Mr. Pitt annually expended more than a third the amount of the public income. Therefore Mr. Fox and the low party opposed his measures, arguing, that even granting there was ground for such fears of domestic revolution, yet the very way he proposed to meet the threatened danger would infallibly lead to the same misfortune—viz. the dissolution of social order. For they said, if Mr. Pitt creates such an immense national debt, a time will come when the effect of the taxation necessary to pay the interest will so operate on your trade and commerce, as sooner or later must render it utterly impossible that interest can be paid, and thus bring about a public bankruptcy. They alledged, that such had been the event in all countries who had ever engaged in a funded system, (as I shall hereafter prove:) they cited the arguments in Mr. Hume's Essay, and they defied their adversaries to shew any difference between the case of the public and an individual. They argued—taxation must have *some* limit; but where many failed was in predicting the period when that limit would arrive. This was ill judgment, because, as Mr. Hume says, a physician may be confident his sick patient has a mortal

* This family are indebted for their right and possession of the British throne to a "*glorious revolution*" *effected by the people in* 1688.

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disease, though he cannot find out the exact month or day he will die. It was impossible that any one could foresee the wonderful resources of such a country and such a system; and no one could have guessed how even Englishmen would have swallowed deceit in the quantity it was served.

I have not space to cite the historical details of so long a period of time: the first striking proof of the Pittite folly and extravagance, was the STOPPAGE *of the Bank of England, a great commercial company, on Monday, 27th of February*, 1797.

I need not enter into all the occurrences which took place previous to this event; nor need I mention the many fatal parts of the system, which rendered it for a long time probable. Suffice it to say, that a run on the Bank, or a general presentation of its notes for cash,—occasioned by an *alarm* of invasion, was the exciting cause. This alarm had long been laborously propagated by the Pittites, 'till, as Mr. Cobbett said, the people at last believed the cry of "wolf." And when the ministry saw the unintentional mischief created, then with their usual impudence the whole report is charged to the account of the Jacobins! of the Jacobins, who had all along ridiculed and disbelieved it—and had always pronounced it a bugbear of the minister! And even when a telegraphic dispatch had actually announced the appearance of French transports and armed vessels off Beachy Head, the M. Chronicle on the 22nd February declared it was all a *mistake*—and the panic, "the consequence of the state of alarm into which Government had thrown the country by the cry of an invasion." Changes were now rung on the constitution bells all to no purpose, public credit was invoked

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and supplicated in vain—every one thought it high time to cater for himself, and such a number of notes were presented and paid by the Bank, as on Saturday the 25th of February created a panic among the Directors, who, from the *alarming* dimunition of the specie, began to think it would be very inconvenient any longer to pay cash according to the tenor of their promissory notes. Late on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, it would appear as if an inquest had been held either in Downing or Threadneedle Street, when in consideration of the nature and high respectability of their connexions, a *felo de se* was not the verdict. For on *Sunday*, an order was issued from the PRIVY COUNCIL, requiring the Directors of the Bank to forbear *issuing any cash in payment*, until the sense of Parliament could be taken on the subject. And on Monday, the Bank issued the following hand-bill instead of cash :—

* *At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, Feb.* 26, 1797.

By the LORDS of His MAJESTY's Most Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL.

Present,

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Rosslyn)
LORD PRESIDENT
MARQUIS CORNWALLIS
EARL SPENCER
EARL of LIVERPOOL (Charles Jenkinson)
LORD GRENVILLE
MR. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.

Upon the *representation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer*, stating, that from the result of the in-

* Bank of England, February 27, 1797.

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formation which *he has received*, and of the enquiries which it has been his duty to make respecting the effect of the *unusual demand for specie*, that have been made upon the metropolis, in consequence of *ill-founded or exaggerated alarms* in different parts of the country, it appears that unless some measure is immediately taken, there may be reason to apprehend a *want of a sufficient supply of cash to answer the exigencies of the public service.* It is the unanimous opinion of the Board, that it is indispensibly necessary, *for the public service*, that the Directors of the Bank of England should *forbear issuing any cash in payment*, until the sense of Parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper means adopted thereupon, for maintaining the means of circulation; and *supporting the public and commercial credit* of the kingdom at this important conjuncture; and it is ordered, that a copy of this minute be transmitted to the Directors of the Bank of England, and they are *hereby required*, on the grounds of the exigency of the case, to comform thereto until the sense of Parliament can be taken as aforesaid.

W. FAWKENER.

In consequence of an order of His Majesty's Privy Council notified to the Bank last night, a copy of which is hereunto annexed.—The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Directors of the Bank of England, think it their duty to inform the Proprietors of Bank Stock, as well as the Public at large, that *the general concerns of the Bank are in the most affluent and prosperous situation*, and such as to *preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes.*—The Directors mean to continue their usual discounts for the ac-

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commodation of the Commercial Interest, *paying the amount in Bank notes*, and the *Dividend Warrants* will be paid in the *same manner*.

FRANCIS MARTIN, Secretary.

There were, however, some people who foresaw and predicted this event. Mr. Paine, of reviled notoriety, was one of them: for in a work published in 1796, he says, "The interest of the national funded "debt is paid at the Bank in the same kind of paper "in which the taxes are collected. When people "find, as they will find, a reservedness among each "other in giving gold and silver for bank notes, or "the least preference for the former over the latter, "they will go for payment to the Bank, where they "have a right to go. They will do this as a measure "of prudence, each one for himself, and *the truth*, "*or delusion of the funding system will be then* "*proved*."—*Paine*. DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF FINANCE.

This 27th February 1797, will be a memorable day in the future history of our country: when the life and death of the system shall have been written, the order of the Privy Council will be cursed as the most shocking anecdote in the *biography*; it was the foundation on which the present tower of Babel has been since erected. Let us see how the Parliament in its wisdom sanctioned the verdict of the *Privy* Council; and let us observe the contradictory and amusing reasons in defence of this and subsequent measures. A few questions may be previously asked. Whether this order added one mite to the capital or real solvency of the Bank? Whether the Bank was really *bonâ fide* solvent—that is, could it have procured gold or silver to have paid off every note?

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Does not every private bankruptcy recite the same preamble of temporary difficulties, but assets beyond the demands to a considerable surplus? Now was the truth of many of Mr. Hume's predictions most singularly verified.

Before extracting any of the debates on the question, I shall give a sample of royal speeches, to prove what *credit* is due to this species of descriptive history.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons. It is "a great *consolation* to me to reflect, that *you will* "*find ample resources* for effectually defraying the "expence of *vigorous preparations*, from the excess "of the *actual revenue beyond the ordinary expenditure*."—KING'S SPEECH, 13th Dec. 1792.

"I feel too sensibly the repeated proofs which I "have received of the affection of my subjects not "to lament the necessity of any additional burthens. "It is, however, a *great consolation* to me, to observe "the favourable state of the Revenue, and the "*complete success of the measure which was last* "*year adopted for removing the embarrassments* "*affecting commercial credit.*"—KING'S SPEECH, 10th January, 1794.

"It is a *great satisfaction* to me to observe, that, "notwithstanding the temporary embarrassments, "which have been experienced, the state of the commerce, manufactures, and revenue of the country "proves the real extent and SOLIDITY *of our* "*resources*, and furnish you such means as must be "equal to *any exertions* which the present crisis may "require."—KING'S SPEECH, 6th Oct. 1796.

The last speech, 6th October, 1796, was only four months before the last day on which the Bank ever

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paid in specie. Of course the habitual echoes resounded its contents in the address. Sir William Lowther, who seconded it, said—"If we regarded our *finances*, "they were ABUNDANT in the EXTREME, and "such as were adequate to any emergency of the "country." Lord Morpeth, son of the Earl of Carlisle, who moved the address to the king, in answer to his speech, said, "As to our *internal situation*, "we have witnessed it, for some time past, with *joy* "and *exultation*; and have reason to congratulate "His Majesty and the people at large, upon our "*auspicious prospects* in that respect." Mr. Pitt said, "As to our *resources*, they furnish, indeed, in "a moment like the present, a subject of *peculiar* "*congratulation* and well *grounded confidence*. Our "resources remain as yet *untouched*, and we shall be "able to bring them into action with a degree of con-"cert and effect, worthy of the character of the "British nation, and of the course in which they "will be employed. The resources have in them, "NOTHING HOLLOW OR DELUSIVE. They "are the result of an ACCUMULATED CAPI-"TAL, of gradually increasing commerce, of *high* "*and established credit*; and they have been pro-"duced while we have been contending against a "country, which exhibits, in every respect, *the* "*reverse of this picture*."

Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Tierney, in vain pronounced the delusion. No prophet has any honour in his own country. Flattery was the great engine of Pitt's: he knew its delusion—and his victims sate in all the bloatedness of their pride, glorifying each other.

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On the 27th. that " heaven born minister," delivered a message from the king, (I wonder they did not call him a messenger of good tidings,) *announcing the stoppage of gold and silver payments at the Bank of England.* It has been asked, how he could possibly appear before Mr. Fox and the opposition, who had so pointedly predicted the message? Just as a man who has been tried and convicted twenty-six times at the Old Bailey, can unblushingly appear a twenty-seventh. After delivering the message, he laid a copy of the order of Council upon the table, and moved that the message be taken into consideration the next day; and, at the same time, gave notice of a motion for appointing a committee to inquire into the concerns of the Bank, an inquiry, he said, which " would greatly tend *to confirm the* " *solidity* of the Bank capital." He also said, that he meant to declare by law, that " Notes, instead of " cash, would be *taken by the public in payment of* " *the sums due to them by the Bank.*" Several opposition members asked if he meant Bank notes were to be taken only by the *receivers of the revenue,* or, were to become a *legal tender* in *all* money-transactions." To this question he gave most ingenious evasive answers, till Mr. Nicholls " pressed him for " an answer to the question which had been put to " him, whether it was his intention that the notes of " the Bank of England should be declared *a legal* " *tender* from the Bank *to the public creditor?* If " so, he was about *to proclaim an act of insolvency.* " And, considering it in this light, he reprobated his " silence, as an instance of most atrocious arrogance. " After animadverting, in the severest terms, on the " confiding majorities in that House, who supported

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" the minister in every measure, however wild, and " sanctioned every part of his conduct, however in- " solent, he concluded with repeating the question, " *whether or not Bank notes were to be declared a* " *legal tender to the public creditor.*"

To this Mr. Pitt retorted, that he was " perplexed " by the observations and questions of the learned " gentleman, who, to an intricacy which it was impos- " sible to unravel, added an exertion of voice much " beyond what he was accustomed to, and an asperity " of language which even exceeded that of the other " honourable gentleman (Mr. SHERIDAN.) He " hoped that he would not persist in thinking it atro- " cious arrogance in him, if he did not attempt to " answer what he conceived it would be unpardonable " arrogance *to attempt to understand.* When a man ob- " truded his opinion, with too much rashness or too much " positiveness, then he might be accused of arrogance, " but he did not perceive that the man who *altogether* " *declined giving an opinion*, could incur the imputa- " tion. But the learned gentleman seemed to be as " ignorant of the forms of the House as of the com- " mon mode of business. He might have known " that though it would be sometimes convenient to " ask and to communicate information by question " and answer, that no discussion can regularly " take place, except *when a motion was before the* " *House.*"

While this was being transacted in the House, there was much going forward out of doors.

An able writer has clearly detailed the out-door work. A meeting was held at the Mansion House, February 27th. of all the City Merchants, Bankers, Jobbers, Placemen, Sinecurists, and every one of those

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who so generally exhibit a nervous susceptibility of Ministerial intentions; when they declared that they were "highly sensible how necessary the preservation of Public Credit is at this time," and they declared themselves willing to receive Bank Notes, and to make all their payments in the same manner. The Chairman of this meeting was Brook Watson, then Lord Mayor; and it has been stated *how* that he afterwards filled the lucrative office of Commissary General to the Army, and how he has since been made a *Baronet*. The Privy Council—The ministers themselves with the Lord High Treasurer at their head, passed similar resolutions; and thus was the Old Lady, (as the Bank is vulgarly called,) bolstered and rouged. But we must remember all this was done under the idea of a speedy resumption of her accustomed functions; for no one—not even Mr. Pitt—or the most visionary Theorist had the least conception we never should again see the sight of her bullion. I know an old broom-maker in Rag Fair, a most jacobinical hater of the Boroughmongering system, who, when he heard of the stoppage, began to hop with extatic exultation expecting a final stoppage of all corruption. But in a few days the poor old wretch, with a dolorous countenance, said "he'd never no notion they'd have granted a new lease."

The whole series of meetings and measures have been so well described, I shall not enter into the detail of those private and public transactions both before and after the stoppage. But in the eyes of the Pittites these transactions were a new proof of the SOLIDITY of the Bank. One meeting of the directors on the 2nd of March, I must however notice. Some idea may be formed of its nature from the

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first resolution, when, instead of the Directors and Proprietors "appearing in sack-cloth and ashes," or delivering in deep mourning a funeral oration over their departed cash credit, they passed a vote of *thanks* to the directors. From the speeches of the same day are the following choice extracts. "The Bank "directors had *made no application* to the Govern- "ment for an order for the stoppage of cash pay- "ments at the Bank, that the measure *was not* "*adopted at the instance of those concerned in the di-* "*rection of the Bank*, that it was not issued at the "instance of the directors. That it was a great "*state measure*, dictated by national policy: meant "only to operate for a *short time*—and earnestly "hoped, that the Bank, which was *quite able*, would "soon be *permitted* to pay its notes in cash, in the "same manner that it had formerly done." How then came Mr. Pitt and the Privy Council to know this measure was necessary? But it appears that on the 21st of February, the directors *went* to Mr. Pitt and "told him how their cash was circumstanc- ed," and begging that minister would make some declaration in Parliament "*to ease the public mind.*" And a little investigation will prove what an *unwilling* part they took in this affair. Was it not just like two school boys meeting an old apple-woman, and one pushes the other against her—then *nobody* knocked her down.

On the 28th Mr. Pitt made a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the *ability* of the Bank to pay the demands upon it; and to report as to the necessity of *continuing* the *measure* adopted by the council. Mr. Pitt of course made his usual broad assertions; but "Have any three months in

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" the course of this war," said Mr. Fox, " past " without the minister's producing some new expe- " dient? And have not all his expedients proved " erroneous? Year after year he has been amusing " us with predictions with respect to France, which " was now on the verge and now in the gulf of " bankruptcy; the *assignats* and the *mandats* could " not possibly continue, he said; which was very " true, but while he was thus amusing us, he led us " to the very same verge, aye, into the very same " gulf." Mr. HOBHOUSE said, " that the assurances " of the minister would never beat down this plain " dictate of common sense, that by his conduct the " Bank had been obliged to commit an act of insol- " vency, by refusing specie for its paper, and, there- " fore he wished for a full inquiry into his con- " duct." Mr. SHERIDAN, in a most admirable speech, laid the whole matter open, completely exposed the motive of the proposed committee, and moved to Mr. Pitt's motion an amendment, in the following words: " That the committee should inquire into " the causes which produced the Order in Coun- " cil."

In the course of the debate Mr. Sheridan observed, " it was urged that the Bank had temporary diffi- " culties to encounter, and that it behoved them to " adopt some mode of granting relief to that im- " portant public body. The House of Commons, " however, knew nothing of this. No application " was made to them by the Bank; nor did it ap- " pear even that application had been made for " the Order in Council; on the contrary, it ap- " peared that this factious Council, instead of ex- " amining the directors of the Bank, acted entirely

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" upon the authority of the Chancellor of the Ex-
" chequer. Nay, what added to his surprize was,
" that *not one of the Bank Directors* who had seats
" in that House, had ever *come forward and express-*
" *ed an opinion upon the subject.* Some information
" was certainly necessary before the House sanction-
" ed so novel and dangerous a measure. They had
" heard of the Bank a short time ago lending two
" millions to Government, and they had also heard of
" the dividends on Bank Stock increasing. Was it
" not material to be informed therefore how they
" had come to stop payment at a time when their
" affairs seemed to be going on so prosperously ?"

Mr. Pitt succeeded in appointing a SECRET COMMITTEE, and Mr. Sheridan's amendment was lost by a majority of 244 to 88.

Whoever will read the debates of this session, may see the sophisms of Mr. Pitt and the wisdom of Mr. Fox most remarkably contrasted.

Mr. Sheridan (see Debate 28th February 1797) said he was " convinced that if the Bank was " not able to resume its payments immediately, he " foresaw it *never would be able afterwards* to defray " its outstanding engagements in cash." And the reason he gave was that the suspension of cash payments would produce the issue of a greater quantity of paper.

The same was also said by Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Hobhouse, in whose speeches, together with those of Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, will be found predictions of all the consequences, which have already flowed, and which are likely to flow from the stoppage of gold and silver payments at the Bank.

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The Committee stated the means and the debts of the Bank as follows :—

Total amount of the Funds of the Bank, (exclusive of Debt due to it from Government of £11,686,800) on the 25th of February, 1797	£17,597,280
Total amount of outstanding demands upon the Bank on the 25th of Feb. 1797	13,770,390
Surplus in favour of the Bank	£3,826,890

State of the Finances of the Bank of England, Feb. 25, 1797.

PARTICULARS OF DEBT ACCOUNT.

Drawing Account	£2,389,600
Exchequer Bills	1,676,000
Unpaid Dividends	983,730.
Ditto in Bank Stock	45,150
Ditto in India Annuities	10,210
Sundries unclaimed.....	1,330
Due from Cash on the Loan of 1797	17,060
Unpaid Irish Dividend	1,460
Ditto on Imperial Loan	5,600
	5,130,140
Bank Notes in circulation	8,640,250
	13,770,390
Balance	3,826,890
	17,597,280

PARTICULARS OF CREDIT ACCOUNT.

Bills and Notes discounted—Cash and Bullion.....	4,176,080
Exchequer Bills	8,228,000
Lands and Tenements.....	65,000
Money lent to India Company.....	700,000
Stamps	1,510
Navy and Victualling Bills	15,890
American Debentures	54,150
Petty Cash in House	5,320
Sundry Articles	24,150
5 per cent. Annuities	795,800
5 per cents. 1797	1,000,000
Treasury Bills paid for the Government	1,612,270
Loan to Government	376,000
Bills discounted unpaid	88,120
Treasury and Exchequer Fees	740
Interest due on different loans advanced to government	554,250
	£17,597,280

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This was the Bank's own statement and story: but Mr. now Lord Grey, (see Debate of 9th March, 1797,) said that, "though one of the Secret Committee the *evidence* had *not satisfied him*; and, indeed, what was this report more or less than the Bank's presentation of the state of its own affairs?"

Now what is all this statement to do with their ability *to pay in cash*, it proves that they had *not* that ability. Their notes were taken because they promised to exchange them for cash, whenever or by whomsoever presented: This an Act of Parliament bound them to do; and if it had not been promised and performed, would any man who feared an invasion, or any foreigner or person leaving the country, have taken them? Was not this measure as dishonourable and impolitic, as a despotic Prince obliging his subjects to take base coin? By what equity could we be obliged to hold these notes, any more than the notes of a provincial private Bank? And with regard to their real solvency or ability, to pay all their notes in cash, as they promised to the persons who received them, I shall take the examination of the able writer, to whom I am indebted for the greater part of these facts.

Speaking of the Bank statements, he says,— "Now, what is all this? Why, it is, with the exception of *three of the items*, a mere account of *paper* between the *Government* and the *Bank*, and in which the people, who *held the Bank notes*, could have no interest whatever. The Bank held Exchequer Bills, and Navy and Victualling Bills, and had lent money (that is to say bank notes) to the East India Company, and had five per cent. stock, and Treasury Bills, and had interest due upon loans; all which might be very

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well for the Bank, but what was it to a man who held a bank note and who could not get payment for it when he presented it to the Bank? These fine articles of credit were very good for the Bank Company; but what good were they to 'SQUIRE GULL, who, being alarmed at the prospect of a Jacobin invasion, wished, in spite of his loyalty, to turn his bank notes into GUINEAS? What use were they to our neighbour, who now wished, of course, to put by a few guineas, and who, of course, wished to *receive his dividends in gold*, to prevent him from doing which by *law* this very report was a *preliminary step?* What consolation was he to draw from this account of debts due from the Government to the Bank, especially when it was clear, that if the Government ever paid the Bank, it must *pay it in bank notes*, seeing that in bank notes *the taxes* were now paid?"

The *three items* to which the people would look, were those expressing on one side, the *amount of the bank notes in circulation*; and, on the other, the amount of the *cash, or coin, and bullion in the Bank Company's House*, commonly called the Bank. According to the above statement these were on the 25th of February, 1797, as follows:

Amount of Bank Notes in circulation	£8,640,250
Bills and Notes discounted, Cash and Bullion	4,176,080
Petty Cash in the House	5,320
	4,181,400
Difference	£4,458,850

"But, who is to say how much the Bills and Notes *discounted* amounted to? Who is to answer, that they did not make one half; who is to say, that they did not make *nine tenths* of the sum of £4,176,080?

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Why was the amount of the *cash* and *bullion* huddled up in one sum along with the amount of Bills and Notes discounted! Why were things so different in their nature confounded together? If our neighbour wanted his bank notes paid at the Bank, he would not take *discounted bills* in payment. What the nation wanted to see, was, how much the Bank had of *that sort of thing, in which bank notes could be paid*; how much it had of that sort of thing, the value of which *no invasion or revolution would destroy*: how much it had of that sort of thing, in which it had *promised to pay upon demand the bearers of its notes*; how much, in short, it had of MONEY, and not of *bills and notes discounted*, with which the people had nothing at all to do, there being no man of common sense, who could care a straw about how much of its paper the Bank gave to others for their paper, so that he got guineas for his bank notes; and, if he could not get this, what consolation was it to him to know, that the Bank had lent but little of its paper to the merchants?"

There were those however who told the minister the real cause of this evil. Mr. Hussey said, that "the Minister had *laid his rapacious hands upon the* "*sums destined for the payment of the public* creditor. "He knew that the public creditors had been refused "their just demands. He had witnessed the truth of "this woeful circumstance himself. He had been "told by a person who had applied for payment, "that, in payment of a sum of *twenty-three* pounds, "*three pounds* in cash had been offered, and the rest "only in notes. Such a melancholy day as this for "England he had hoped never to live to see. Let "the Chancellor of the Exchequer *pay the ten*

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" *millions Government owed the Bank, and then it* " *would be able to fulfil all its engagements.* It was " not that the Bank was unable to satisfy its creditors, " but it was the *continued demand of money to feed the* " *expences of this ruinous and disastrous war*, which " rendered it unjust to those who depended upon its " credit."

The result of all these debates was, that Mr. Pitt was obliged to acknowledge that the whole system was now a paper credit, subject to a thousand accidents. But nevertheless by the enchantment of this great idol was "*suspicion lulled asleep.*"

It is this system that has enabled us to carry on the late wars, and inundated us with country Banks. I have not limits sufficient to enter into the question of the depreciation of paper; but there can be no doubt that paper was depreciated two years since, as Mr. Horner and the Bullion Committee proved, much to the annoyance of Mr. Vansittart. A guinea was then worth half as much more than a Bank of England one pound note was; it is not now, because the demand for gold has ceased and the distresses of the times sent half the paper out of circulation. But should there be a new war, or should there at any time arise a demand for specie and an increase of notes, the notes will again be proportionally depreciated. And, therefore, should the restriction bill be repealed in time of peace, whenever a new war takes place it must be renewed, or the Bank of England appear in the paper gazette.

I proceed now to examine on what grounds and pretences this restriction bill has been from time to time renewed.

A Bill introduced by Mr Pitt, became a law on the

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3rd of May, 1797. It authorised the Bank to refuse cash to its creditors for *fifty-two days*, making its notes legal tender in lieu thereof. It also enabled them to issue one pound notes. This law was established on the ruins of many former acts, by which our ancestors had obliged and bound the Bank to honour their notes, and restricted them from deluging us with any under £5.

Mr. Sheridan declared if this restriction were once passed, *he* never should live to see cash payments resumed.

" Nothing but a law, declaring bank notes to be " a *legal tender* of payment, can relieve the bankers " and the trading part of the community from the " hardships to which they are now liable; and yet, " the remedy must, in the *end*, be worse than the " evil."—Mr. Hobhouse. Speech in the House of Commons, 27th March, 1797.

" He hoped gentlemen would direct their most " serious attention to the subject. The bill was of " the utmost importance; if a paper currency were " once established, how could it be got rid of? If " gold and silver were once driven out of circulation, " how were they to be recovered? The sure conse- " quences of a paper currency would be a debt so " enormous, that it would never be removed. The " old debts and the new would vanish together, " and the funded property would sink with them. " A revolution in property might produce a revolution " in Government, and all these scenes of blood " which had disgraced France."—Mr. NICHOLLS. Debate, 27th March, 1797. On the Bank Restriction Bill.

Thus was the restriction continued from May 3rd

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to June 24th, 1797, and we shall see by the following Ministerial speeches, what was suggested as to the probability of any further restriction.

In the debate of the 23rd of March, Mr. Wilberforce said, that, "Gentlemen did not consider how "much of this distress arose from the very nature of "our commercial dealings. The credit we gave "was one year, eighteen months, or two years, while "we paid at six months; so that in the *progressive* "*increase of trade* it was some time before the "balance flowed in. *The bad effects were passed,* "*the good were yet to come.*" On the 24th of March, Mr. Pitt said, that, "as to the *exact period*, he could "make no positive conjecture: for he felt it difficult "to say, whether *one month*, or *two*, or *three*, would "be better. But when he reflected, that it must "require some time for money *to circulate back from* "*the country to the Bank*, and also to be *refunded* "*from abroad*, and from *all the other sources*, from "which its wealth may be derived, he could not en-"tertain a firm hope that the restoration of the "Bank could be other than gradual, he would, *there-*"*fore*, limit the operation of the present clause to the "24th of June, 1797." On the 29th of March, Mr. Lubbock said, that "if *no particular day was fixed*, "and the Bank began to pay specie without such "notice, all would go on gradually and smoothly: "that he was convinced, with a very little assistance, "that the Bank might go on as usual *immediately*, "and discount freely; if £3,000,000 were added to "their capital, it would enable the Bank to discount to "a much larger amount, which would more than ac-"commodate the commercial world; and *he would* "*venture to be d—d*, if such a sum would not be sub-

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" scribed in twenty-four hours; this would *put all* " *to rights.*" On the 31st of March, Mr. Pitt said, " leave the Bank and them to exercise a discretion " concerning it, which at all events could do no in- " jury, and might, more than probably would, lead " to the attainment of that which the right honour- " able gentleman himself seemed so anxious for, " namely, *the restoration of cash payments at the* " *Bank.*" And again on the same day he said: " probably then the cash in the Bank on the 25th of " February was not yet diminished—then if more " cash came in, it would gradually *enable the Bank* " *to open again and resume its operations by those* " *slow and successive steps which would make a re-* " *sumption safe.*"—On the same day, Mr. Samuel Thornton, one of the Bank Directors, said, in speaking of the clause, which invites people to carry gold to *deposit in the Bank*, that, " on the " whole he considered it as a most important mea- " sure, and that *it would enable the Bank to resume* " *its usual general payments long antecedent to the* " *period fixed for its recovery.*"

Yet there were some men who had the wisdom and the courage to oppose this fatal measure. Mr. Fox is gone the way of all the world—no man's political opinions have been so decried and calumniated as his were, and yet how just have they been since demonstrated. Future historians will bear testimony to his enlightened and prophetic spirit, and to the noble and generous integrity of his heart.

In the debate of the 7th of March, Mr. Hobhouse said: " But we are told that this bill is to exist for " *a short time only.* Has the right honourable " Chancellor of the Exchequer considered what is

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" likely to take place when this bill shall expire?
" Will not the holders of Bank of England notes,
" the very moment that the suspension of payment
" in specie is at an end, *rush in large bodies to the*
" *Bank and demand specie?* Having been once de-
" luded, will they ever expose themselves to the
" risque of being deluded a second time; having
" once lost the opportunity of converting their notes
" into specie by a sudden and unexpected Order of
" Council, *will they ever voluntarily become holders*
" *of such notes again?* The least wound given to
" public credit is not easily healed: public confidence
" once lost, is not easily recovered." In the same debate Mr. Fox said that, " He knew not what
" the duration of the bill was intended to be, whe-
" ther for three weeks or for three or six months;
" but this he knew, that the longer the duration, the
" *greater our difficulty would be*; and he must be a
" sanguine man indeed, if he thought the country
" would not be ruined in its credit, if this bill conti-
" nued for six or eight months.—There were some
" persons who confessed that this evil could not
" be removed *during the war: he agreed with*
" *them*; but he doubted whether it could be remov-
" ed EVEN IN PEACE, unless that desirable
" event should take place, *very soon*. Every hour
" that it was delayed diminished our chance of re-
" moving the calamity. If we had not peace in
" the spring of 1797, what should we say in the
" autumn? This was a question which did not de-
" pend on the taking of a town or a fortress. An
" enumeration of many successes in that respect
" would be of no avail. This was a time in which
" we should not conceal any thing from the public.

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" A new loan of several millions was speedily want-
" ed, which certainly would not tend to improve the
" situation of paper credit. He could not bring
" himself *to state the circumstances of this country*
" *without the most painful anxiety.* The House
" ought to consider that this country was now on
" the brink of a dreadful precipice, and that one
" false step might *throw it into a gulph out of*
" *which it never could rise.*" In the same debate, in answer to a remark of Mr. Pitt " that an *increase* " *of Bank notes* would *hasten the period of cash* " *payments,*" Mr. Fox said, that " to say that " paper differed from the nature of every thing else, " and that it was *valuable in proportion as it was* " *plentiful,* and not as it was rare; and that the " abundance of paper would incline people *not to* " *hoard guineas,* but would induce them to *carry them* " *to the Bank,* were propositions so inconsistent " with sound reasoning, that he was ashamed of " calling up principles so merely elementary, and " which were as clear as the simplest propositions of " mathematics." In the same debate Mr. Sheridan said, that " There would be *no end to the bill,* " should it be carried into effect. He would repeat, " therefore, what he had said before, that it would " be better to suspend the proceeding altogether, " than to hazard the evils which its enactment, " *without the prospect of a limitation* would pro-
" duce." In the same debate, Sir William Pulteney said: " Does any man, in his senses, imagine, that " if this stoppage of payment in specie is to be of " *long duration,* that the merchant will not advance " the price of his foreign articles?—This appears " to me to be a great evil; and I have no idea of

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" assenting to any bill of this kind, *unless the dura-*
" *tion be fixed*, and *irrevocably limited to a short pe-*
" *riod.*" In the debate of the 24th of March, the same gentleman, Sir William Pulteney, said, that " he was of opinion that the longer the period was, " the heavier would our difficulties grow. It was " useless to say, that cash might *flow back from the* " *country and from abroad*; for, while we were " waiting for that reflux of specie, our destruction " must ensue; it was impossible to restore the Bank " by the balance of trade to which the right honour- " able gentleman, Mr. Pitt, alluded. The theory was " false, and nothing solid could be expected from it. " Three weeks had already been given to the Bank, " and he was willing to grant it one month more; " if, then, it could not pay we must look for some " *other remedy*: for that now proposed would be " found of no avail. We should be *only compelled* " *to prolong the restriction from one period to an-* " *other*, till our paper met *the fate of the French* " *assignats.*"

We have now (July 1817) seen the predictions of Mr. Hume and Mr. Fox completely fulfilled. There have been repeated renewals of the restriction which still continues in force.

The first passed in the 37th year of the reign of George III. and is of the Statutes of that year, Chapter 45. The date according to the common way of dating, is 1797, and on the 23d of May. To continue in force to the 24th of June 1797; that is to say, for only *fifty-two* days.

The Second: 37 year George III. Chapter 91. That is, in 1797; and the day when the act passed was the 22nd of June; to continue in force *till one*

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month after the commencement of the then next Session of Parliament!

The third: 38th year George III. Chapter 1. That is, 1797; and the day when the Act was passed was the 30th of November; to continue in force *till one month after the conclusion of the then war by a definitive treaty of peace!*

The Fourth (*Peace was now come*) 42nd year George III. Chapter 42. That is, 1802, and the act was passed on the 30th of April, to continue in force (*though peace was made*) till the 1st ofMarch, 1803.

The Fifth (Peace still continuing) 43rd year George III. Chapter 18. That is, 1803; and the Act was passed on the 28th of February; to continue in force till six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of Parliament. This was the second renewal after the end of the war. The second renewal during peace.

The Sixth (War was now *begun again:)* 44th year George III. Chapter . That is, 1803; and the Act was passed on the 15th of December; to continue in force till six MONTHS *after a conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace!*

And several others which continue the restriction till the ensuing 5th of July 1818.

A quarto volume would not contain all the debates on this most interesting question, therefore I must refer the reader to the papers of the day. Nothing can be more truly ludicrous than the various reasons for continuing this measure from time to time, how it was necessary from the rate of exchange—to repel Bonaparte's atrocious attack on our finances and Public Credit, and how "pleasing" were its

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effects! The bank has always had the greatest anxiety to pay in specie—But the minister, I presume, doubting its self knowledge, always restrained its eagerness! It was the *prime* minister, Lord Sidmouth, who continued it in April, 1802.

Mr. Robson moved 2nd April, for certain papers on the affairs of the bank, which motion Lord Sidmouth smothered by moving the *previous question*. Mr. Robson in his speech said, "all Europe was contemplating the payments of specie by the bank, as the criterion of the credit of the country. If the bank continued to issue paper, country banks would do the same without controul; they would issue their notes *without mercy*. It was, in his opinion, THE COMMENCEMENT OF A COURSE OF ASSIGNATS." *(Order! order! and question! was called from every part of the House.)* Oh! most Honourable House!

It was now continued to the 1st March 1803, because "a temporary provision" was wanting, "till the effects of peace should have begun to operate."

The restriction bill was further passed till six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, which session began in November, 1803. The reasons of my Lord Sidmouth for thus again disappointing the ignorant impatience of the bank, are in a debate on the 7th of February, 1803, when he moved for leave to bring in this bill. He begun by saying, "that it was with the *utmost reluctance* "that he submitted the proposition to the House, but "the reasons which suggested it were too strong, "and the *necessity* too *urgent*, to be resisted; that "necessity, however, *he hoped, would soon disappear*; "and, he *anxiously and impatiently* looked forward

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" to the day, which he trusted was not far removed, " when the bank would be *at liberty* to resume its " payments in specie." The *grounds* for proposing this measure he stated to be, that the *course of exchange* was still against this country, and, as the House " last year considered that a sufficient argu- " ment for the measure, he would appeal to the can- " dour and good sense of the House, whether it " would be expedient to allow the restriction to " cease." He also said, " that a sudden issue of " cash from the bank would produce a run upon the " country banks, and a consequent run upon the " Bank of England, which might be productive of " most serious consequences." He further observed, " that the exchange being against us had arisen from " the circumstance of *scarcity of coin*, which, of late " years, had caused so much bullion to be sent out " of the country, and that it was obvious, that we " should wait the operations of a flourishing com- " merce to bring back some proportion of this vast " amount of bullion, before we attempted to permit " the bank to issue specie."

So you see Lord Sidmouth acknowledged that a run on the bank might create most " serious conse- quences." Though a few months afterwards he says, " it was satisfactory to know that the *credit* of " the bank had remained firm and unshaken, during " the past experience of the measure, and that *its* " *sufficiency to make good its engagements, both was,* " and is *unaffected by even the slightest suspicion!*"

But I will not be tempted to quote any more of their egegious nonsense: suffice it to say, that the practical inability and the theoretical sufficiency con- tinue to this hour. The Bank is paying off its one

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and two pound notes in specie, issued previous to January 1816. And this the present Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the Exchequer, called a *virtual* resumption of cash payments; arguing, that we have only to change a fifty pound note for fifty notes dated in and before 1815, and carry them to the Bank for cash! But it so happens that Mr. Grenfell (in answer to whom he made this notable observation) went the following morning into the city to three banking houses, where he could not find one single note!

The 7th July, 1817, on Mr. Grenfell's motion, moving a return of the aggregate amount of one and two pound notes in circulation anterior to the 1st. of January, 1816. The chancellor of the Exchequer made the following curious reply: "No "parliamentary ground was laid for this motion; "nor was the question referred to of sufficient mag- "nitude or importance to justify the proposed inter- "position of the House with the concerns of the "bank. It was notorious that for every purpose of "practical utility the bank had resumed its payments "in cash, and there was every reason to calculate, "that, by the 5th of July next, which was the "period at present fixed by law, that resumption "would be complete. He was prepared to re-affirm, "that cash payments had already virtually taken "place, as from anything that he had heard *there was* "*no inconvenience whatever* felt by the public with "respect to cash payments, or the general character "of the circulating medium. Therefore, he thought "it a matter of no consequence to ascertain what "was the number of notes in circulation at the time "stated in the motion. *The Bank had in fact done* "*more than was expected by even the most sanguine,*

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" and there was as much ground to calculate upon " the restoration of the usual currency by July next, " as upon any other contingency. He could not, " indeed, conceive anything that could impede the " resumption of cash payments by the bank, but " that which was at present extremely improbable, " namely, A BAD HARVEST." O sapient Mr. Vansittart, extraordinary little man; thou never spakest any thing more true, than that we feel no inconvenience whatever from cash payments. So the bank *has* and *will* resume cash payments. What is the fact? Why, that the Bank of England *has not* but may *possibly* resume its payments in specie, though it never can be a *virtual* resumption; because the people *must* receive their paper, knowing that if they ever rush to the bank again, another restriction will " *become necessary*;" and because, whenever we have a new war we must have a restriction bill, or the depreciation of paper would instantly ruin the bank. Also, should any misfortune befal the public funds, the bank will then become totally insolvent, the government being so largely its debtor, and the greater part of its capital being vested in the public funds and exchequer bills. What must be the situation of that private bank whose payment in specie depends on a good or bad harvest? Thus, indeed, has Public Credit received a blow it will never overget as long as it lives.

Let us now see what has been the invariable consequence of such measures, and what this unfortunate public credit has invariably produced.

One of the first calculators in Europe in a pamphlet on the stoppage of the Bank, published in 1797, makes the following remarks:

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" The directors, therefore, remonstrated in vain, " until at last the danger grew so imminent, that for- " getting they had any constituents to whom they " ought long ago to have appealed, and that there " was a parliament to whom they ought to have sub- " mitted their apprehensions, they surrendered their " trust into the hands of the ministry, and sacrificed " the spotless faith of their Bank to the uncontroul- " able necessities of the Treasury. By this conduct " and the violent measures which it has produced, the " sacred ties by which credit has hitherto been main- " tained, are broken, and the holder of a bank note " has no other security for the payment of it, than " the ministers having judged it expedient in the " mean time to apply the money to the public ser- " vices. (See also Hume.) If the wound which has " been given to public credit by these injudicious " proceedings be not fatal, it will indeed be fortunate " for this country; that it should ever be perfectly " healed, I am satisfied is impossible. The histories " of other countries in similar circumstances, afford " no instance to encourage our hopes. Wherever " government has interfered with private banks, and " made their credit administer to the wants and ex- " travagance of the state, the consequences have " been invariably the same. A MASS OF FIC- " TITIOUS WEALTH HAS BEEN ACCUMU- " LATED, AND THE NATION HAS AP- " PEARED, FOR A SEASON, TO RISE IN " SPLENDOUR AS ITS DEBTS HAVE IN- " CREASED. But the government possessed of " such an easy method of providing for the public " exigencies, has set no bounds to profusion; its pa- " per securities have therefore necessarily multiplied,

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" until their amount exceeding the specie beyond all
" reasonable proportion, has unavoidably produced
" their depreciation, while the bank, having been
" lured by a high interest to issue their notes in
" immense quantities upon these securities, become
" straightened for cash, their solvency in consequence
" begins to be suspected, the slighest alarm pours in
" their paper from all quarters, government inter-
" poses its authority, and the very measures which
" have hitherto been employed to prevent a bank-
" ruptcy, have always proved the infallible means of
" producing it."

He then adduces some instances, particularly that of the Mississippi Company at Paris, 1720. By the assistance of their paper currency, the French nation in that period assumed a splendour unknown in former times. Commerce flourished, luxury prevailed, riches appeared to accumulate; their virtues were obscured in a cloud of glory: the company, by continuing to issue their notes in still greater abundance, or, in other words, by multiplying their circulating medium, seemed only to produce the effect of increasing the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom. No bounds, therefore, were set to their fictitious coinage, till at last it was carried to such an extent, that they had issued sixteen hundred millions of livres in paper on government securities, and six hundred millions on their own. (£96,000,000.) The mass now became too unwieldy for circulation. The Duke of Orleans, who was then Regent, being desirous of applying a remedy to the evil, interposed the authority of government, and, in order that the paper might bear a nearer proportion to the quantity of specie, an arrêt was issued to diminish its value to *one half* its denomi-

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nation In an instant it was reduced in public opinion to *nothing*; and, as Sir James Steuart observes, "a person might have served the next day with one hundred millions of paper in his pocket!" This was the most brilliant period of French history. The Court was become proverbial for its dress and excessive dissipation; and more pains were bestowed on the planning and frogging of a coat, than ever a marshal gave to his plan of battle. Louis XIV. wasted the treasures of his subjects in the most idle projects. The canal of Languedoc, the water-works of Marly and Versailles, and the sums squandered on his mistresses, might flatter the vanity and gratify the passions of that proud monarch, but they contributed not to the happiness of France. His projects of foreign conquests, and his "brilliant victories," might contribute to glory, but they impoverished his subjects, and brought the resources of the state to the lowest ebb. It was in June of this same year, (1720,) that the dissolution of the South Sea scheme, and the Mississippi company, was the ruin of public credit both in France and England, and should have operated as a lasting example against fictitious capital.

In the year 1788, Paris affords a similar instance of the folly and misfortune (although in a much more limited degree) in the fate of the Caisse d'Escompte. Here again we perceive the necessities of the state, obliging it to have recourse to the credit of a private company. In consequence of having advanced immense sums to government, and of the increasing demands from the same quarter, the affairs of this company were involved in such difficulties as to render them the object of suspicion. Their paper, therefore, became depreciated; and the ardent desire of con-

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verting it into specie, produced such a concourse of people at the Caisse d'Escompte, as to induce the archbishop of Toulouse (who was then minister) to issue an *Arrêt de surséance*,* empowering them to refuse payment of their notes in money, and to discharge them with drafts and bills of Exchange, the payment of which had been tendered in these notes. This operation of finance was at first applauded, as a wise precaution against the effects of unfounded and precipitate fear. The Bank now continued and even enlarged its discounts. The commerce of Paris, which was stated to have increased so much as to want a circulating medium, was, for a moment, assisted in its speculation; but the face of things soon changed, and it is well known, that the measures which were intended for the preservation terminated as usual, in the ruin of public credit.

The American and Vienna paper had a very similar effect: an ideal wealth which terminated in the ruin of thousands.

The Tulipomania in Holland, was also founded exactly on the same destructive principles; and I need not tell, when the government interposed, with what a crash it burst over the astonished Dutchmen. But, as the same writer observes from whom I extracted the instances of the Mississippi and Caisse d' Escompte, the measures which have been taken on the stoppage of the Bank of England, are so like those which were adopted on the stoppage of the Caisse

* The nature of this order will be better understood by observing, that the French nobility, when pressed by their creditors, very often obtained from the Court an arret de surseance, to enable them to *postpone* the payment of their debts.

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d' Escompte, that they appear (except indeed in the circumstance of the French minister's having been dismissed from place on the occasion) to be either copied from or suggested by the same advisers.

Passing the other day down Princes Street, I was covered with papyrus ashes from the chimney of a stove where the cancelled bank paper is calcined to a powder. They reminded me of the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum; and this chimney, thought I, it is the pestiferous crater of that Volcano which will some future day overwhelm this country. It is the practice of the bank to burn all their waste paper and liquidated bills; and I now hold in my left hand a solid calcined lump from the aforesaid flue, which was *once* above a million pounds sterling of circulating medium! Will I prostrate my understanding to a belief in the reality of this species of wealth? A golden guinea will stand the test of fire, and retain its nominal value though deprived of the royal medallion and heraldic ornaments—but paper is so combustible as to be utterly destroyed. Is their a greater proof of the relative *nature* of the two? The promissory notes of individuals you always regard with suspicion. But a guinea is a passport all over the world, and paper in most countries no better tender than an old piece of rag. I believe it would now be as impossible for the Bank of England to pay all their notes in specie, as it would be for the directors to mount Sinbad's roc and fetch cash from the golden valley, or for a Spa-Field's mob to knock down the composite pillars of their temple with glass bottles.

It is impossible, however, I should here enter into the details of this extraordinary system: its nomenclature alone would occupy a hundred pages. Dr.

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Hamilton's work, but especially Mr. Cobbett's "Paper against Gold," contain a most clear exposé of the whole. From the latter I have borrowed the greater part of the extracts on the Bank stoppage. I recommend his letters on this subject without reference to his individual character, or the general tone of the Register; but as being the work of one of the first political economists in the kingdom. Much as I condemn his tergiversations, and his indiscriminate abuse of all men and measures, (as if he himself or any earthly being were immaculate;) yet, I greatly admire his *lungeous* good sense; the boldness with which he has told truths no others dared to tell; and for his strength and perspicuity of nervous reasoning, unequalled by any writer of the last century. He is now in a distant country—an expatriated victim in the cause of justice and truth; and, whatever may be his faults, I shall always consider him sacrificed to corruption; and I shall always judge of his tergiversations as those of a politician who *never* accepted a place, a pension, or a farthing from any man or government whatever; and facts, we must confess, are stubborn things. The most base and scandalous lies have been deliberately forged by a venal press, to account for his sudden removal to North America, about as well founded as those of his having committed suicide two years since, and been flogged by Mr. Lockart last spring. The real truth is, that Mr. Cobbett well knew it was the intention of ********** if possible, to ******** him for life; they know it themselves, nor will the people of Great Britain, or future historians, blame the course he has adopted. His *enemies* accuse him of a lurking attachment to the cause and propagation of republicanism—of this

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I know nothing, except that I have never perceived it in his writings. If, however, such are his opinions, (and every man has a right to have an opinion on this subject as well as on any other) they are not opinions he ought to be permitted to propagate, because they are not only contrary to the established order of executive government in this country, but are inimical to its real interests. Mr. Cobbett should remember how much more easy it is to pull down than to rebuild; a great city may be consumed by fire, and may be rebuilt in a more healthy and magnificent mode; but it surely is not for the interest of the then incumbents that it should be destroyed, as we know their consequent houseless and miserable condition. Tropical plants will not always flourish in a northern climate: and he should reflect that what is good for America may be bad for England. The fate of the United States has been most singularly happy, retaining all the advantages—the language, arts, and sciences—and noble institutions of the mother country; they separated from her, when able to act for themselves, without any of her abuses or corruptions: In such a country where no aristocracy existed, and where property was very equally divided, a true republican form of government—that is, a pure extended representation of all ranks of the people, without lords or king, was undoubtedly the best form of legislation. But here it is impossible and by no means desirable, the remains of the feudal system making it quite visionary. But do not be deceived by the Aristocrats, who cite the examples of Greece and Rome against democracy; for those states never had a genuine republic—they never had a proper unbiassed representation of the community, and their

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despotisms and anarchies are rather a proof against oligarchies, which in fact were their virtual governments. Those states were always less happy and prosperous under forty than under one tyrant. There is also another little work "On the Decline and Fall of the English Finance," most prophetic of what has since befallen us, it was published in 1795, *previous* to the Bank stoppage, by Paine, whose name is as familiar in your ears as that of the D——l, and who was certainly a man of bad moral character and dangerous sceptical principles. I cannot do better than insert the following extract from Mr. Cobbett, as an excuse for quoting him.

"I speak here of those writings merely of Mr. Paine, which relate to Finance, without wishing to convey any commendation of some of his other writings, the subjects of which, are in no-wise, connected with this subject. In the principles of finance he was deeply skilled; and, to his very great and rare talents as a writer, he added an uncommon degree of experience in the concerns of paper money, the rise and fall of which he had witnessed in the American States and in France. Truth is truth, come from whom it may; and there is no greater folly than that of rejecting it, that of shutting one's eyes and ears against it, merely because it proceeds from persons, of whose conduct, in other respects, one may disapprove. The writings of Lord Bacon are held, and justly held, in great estimation; though he was, as our elegant and virtuous poet describes him, 'the meanest of mankind.' The late Lord Liverpool, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Hobhouse and others, and as we shall see by-and-by, a Committee of the House of

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Commons, have since acknowledged the truth of the principles of Mr. Paine's work. Events have proved the truth of them, and to point out the fact is no more than an act of justice, due to his talents, and an act the more particularly due at my hands, I having been one of his most violent assailants. Any man may fall into *error*, but a fool or a knave will seldom "*acknowledge* it."

Mr. Paine with all his infidelity and want of integrity was not cajoled by Mr. Pitt's sinking fund; for, twenty-three years since he characterized that proposition, for paying off the national debt by applying a million a year for that purpose, while the minister continued adding more than twenty millions a year to it, as like setting a man with a wooden leg to run after a hare. The longer he runs the farther he is off.

On the rise, progress, and present amount of the National Debt, with its effect on the morals and happiness of the People.

The real situation of the kingdom at this moment is too constantly and bitterly felt to need any illustration; and those few who are really in a flourishing pecuniary condition have their enjoyments embittered by the sight of thousands suffering around them from absolute want of food and clothing. It behoves us then to consider the state of the country with immense Poor rates—upwards of 60 millions pounds sterling of annual taxation—two thirds of our trade abolished, our proudest laws suspended, the great mass of its inhabitants discontented with an un-

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constitutional legislature and an imprudent ministry, and an immense public debt hanging like a millstone round our necks, and ready to sink us at every movement. Surely it is high time that we considered to whom we are indebted for all these wretched evils—whether they arise from transitions—or whether there be any mode of eradicating them, or preventing their recurrence in future.

This unparalleled distress of the country, the number of willing labourers out of employ, the majority of tradesmen living on their capitals, and the extraordinary expences of government have now become a most tiresome and *everlasting* transition.

It is quite contrary to what Mr. Pitt and his partizans had assured you would be the effect of Peace: he assured you its blessings would be boundless, and the gratitude of our neighbours without limit. And Mr. Vansittart two years since, said, in a few months there would be no sorrow or poverty, but a great trade and demand for labour. In both these predictions they have completely failed, and we are far worse situated than at any former period of our history, indeed such has been the duration of the transition that every one now talks of the *breaking out of the peace* as they formerly did of a plague or a continental war.

Ever since the monstrous birth of the Funded system, the ablest writers on all sides have denounced its danger.

WILLIAM 3rd. is the legitimate father of this fatal disease—of the loan system, and of that policy which has ever since kept the Continent in a state of permanent hostility. He began that enormous debt "the weight of which" said Bolingbroke, "is daily

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" sinking England into the gulph of an inevitable " bankruptcy." According to the opinion of Lord Bolingbroke, Great Britian was in a condition to support *advantageously*, from a hundred to a hundred and twenty millions sterling of National Debt. This minister thought that such a system of finance would increase the activity and industry of the people of the United Kingdom: but he was convinced that if it got beyond this amount, there would be NO STOPPING; that in such case the minister would heap Loan upon Loan, that a National Bankruptcy would be inevitable, *however great might be the extension of commerce*, and that the body politic would be struck to the heart. He asserted that the excessive advance in the price of labour, the immoderate increase of the taxes, and the misery of the most numerous class of the state, would be the necessary consequences of the accumulation of the National Debt, and would bring on, at some period or another, an incurable malady!

Exactly what this nobleman predicted has occurred in England, within the last 50 years; and the history of this period has demonstrated the truth of Bolingbroke's and Mr. Hume's opinions on the unceasing growth of the National Debt. For it is a fact that from the accession of George the 1st. in 1714, the state of the finances has only afforded one solitary period of amendment and real prosperity. From 1762 to 1773 was the period in question; during which were paid off nearly 18 millions. The History of Britain only affords this single interval of internal prosperity for the space of sixty-six years.

The National Debt began in the year 1692, and

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the loan made in that year amounted to £1,000,000 sterling.

In 1680 it amounted to £8,000,000. When Queen Anne, who succeeded William, came to the throne, which was in the year 1701, the Debt was £16,000,000. On the accession of George the Ist. in 1714, it was above £50,000,000. George II. in the year 1740, had raised it to £80,000,000. And when his present majesty George the III. came to the throne in 1760, it was £146,682,844, for such had it been increased to since 1756, when it amounted to only £75,000,000, by a war which Voltaire justly says, was a quarrel about a few acres of snow in North America!

Between the Peace of Versailles, in 1763, and the preparation for war with North America, in 1774, a portion of this debt was liquidated; for in 1773 it was reduced to about £136,000,000. It was now that we wanted to persuade our North American Colonies to participate in the burthen by attempting to tax them—but they, obstinately declining so unfair a partnership, we therefore thought it advisable to resort to force to compel them. When we commenced this war, April 19, 1774, our debt amounted to about £135,943,051. To the honour of Hume and Adam Smith, they decidedly gave their private opinions to Government *against* the policy of this war, though both of them high party men. It ended as might naturally be expected all wars must end, which are carried on thousands of miles from home in a hostile land, to the disadvantage of the parent country. In short, January 20th. 1783, a general peace was concluded, and the complete independence of the United States acknowledged by this

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country. In 1784, when we came to balance stock, it appeared our National Debt had increased to £232,152,803 funded debt; and £36,000000, unfunded: requiring an annual interest of £9,560,907. Thus had we thrown much good money after bad.*

It was about this period Mr. Pitt commenced his celestial reign. And in 1786 established the sinking fund. And this famous scheme was in the course of 30 or 40 years, to entirely liquidate our uncomfortable debts. The act of Parliament will be found in chap. 31, 26th Geo. 3rd. entitled, "*An act for vesting certain sums in Commissioners, at the end of every quarter of a year to be by them applied to the*

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* It was during this war that we bought of the LANDGRAVE of HESSE some thousands of his subjects to be slaughtered in our service. This was literally buying *stock*. The price was £30 per man; and in November 1786, we transferred to this dealer in human flesh, £471,000, 3 per cents. in exchange! These poor wretches were nearly all butchered in America, and their bones are now rotting in a foreign land, with no relatives to weep over their graves!!!

When this Royal Christian received his first *subsidy*, he sent to Paris for players, dancers, and prostitutes, and continued his beastly debauch till the money was all squandered! The Chief Priests of the Jews seem better to have understood the Law of God: "and they took the silver pieces, and said, it is not lawful to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood." Were there no receivers of stolen property there would be few thieves. The feelings of the Honourable House are shocked when a man sells his wife in Smithfield! They will nevertheless vote millions for the purchase of men. And are you my Lord S....., and you Mr. W....., and Mr. V.....; are you Saints Upholders of this trading "in slaves and souls of men?" You may have diminished black slavery, but what species have you substituted in its place? You have not only promoted the slavery of white men by becoming their purchasers, but you have forced white men *to sell themselves*; for such is the necessity with the poor expatriated emigrants whom an impoverishing war has driven to America! What Pharisaical righteousness!

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reduction of the National Debt." The accumulations of this *Sinking Fund,* "*shall remain to be disposed of as Parliament shall direct.*"

This notable scheme has I believe vested in the hands of those Commissioners between two and three hundred millions: but these sums have never yet been given up to the public and erased from the books, nor does the interest cease to be paid upon them. They are still at the direction and discretion of an UNREFORMED PARLIAMENT: and since they *may be* in some future emergency resold in the market, and the money applied towards the expences of Government, they are to all intents and purposes a part of the National Debt. But I shall not enlarge on this fallacious fund, it has been sufficiently exposed in twenty publications: it never yet has arisen from a surplus of income, (the original intention of Dr. Price, its founder) and therefore to borrow an expression, it has been only borrowing of Peter to pay Paul: nor can it ever virtually redeem until it is founded on a surplus of income. *Funds that should have been used by the Commissioners to buy up stock, have been applied to the exigencies of the state;* and this justifies my saying that stock actually bought up *may* be so applied, since the former is only the prelude to the latter.

Such was the fate of Sir Robert Walpole's sinking fund, established in 1716. In 1728 it was charged with the interest of a loan. In 1733, £500,000 was taken away for the supplies of the year: in 1734 1,200,000*l.* more was taken, and in 1735 the whole was anticipated and mortgaged!

We shall now see what has been the increase or decrease of the Debt whilst this fund has been

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accumulating, because it will verify the simile of Paine.

In the year 1786, when first established, the whole National Debt, exclusive of the temporary annuities consisted of 238,231,241*l.* And it now really amounts to more than EIGHT HUNDRED MILLIONS *unredeemed*—though ruinous wars in which the nation have ever since been almost incessantly involved, by increasing the debt twenty times faster than it could possibly be reduced, have at different times depreciated the funds so low, that the sums appropriated for the redemption of the debt, have purchased nearly twice as much stock as they otherwise would have done.

We have paid off all this sum of 238 millions, but we have contracted a new debt of 800 millions. Does not this amount to the same, as that we have paid no debt at all, but contracted an additional one of near six hundred millions.

In 1789, the French revolution burst forth, and from this event may be dated those horrid, civil, and foreign wars which have devastated every country in the world except our own, who perhaps fomented and fed the quarrels of every other. *We* have *subsidized* every country in Europe. *We* have interfered with every Government. *We* created the power of Napoleon—it is true, he most unjustifiably and basely attacked Spain, but who was setting the son against the father? Bonaparte was aware some one was and had the good luck to break in first.

Is all this to be done with impunity? Guilt may escape for a time, but sooner or later its punishment will arive. My L. E..... may growl "as false as H—l:" but I affirm, though a libel, it is neverthe-

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less *true*, as true as that his L————p has supported this system, whether from an error in judgment or wilfully and knowingly, is best known to his own conscience.

But to return to the French revolution: that most awful convulsion, by a contemporary writer, is attributed to the union and working of the following causes. An immense burthen of taxation pressing on the lower orders; an expensive and dissipated Court; an enormous standing army in time of peace of 200,000 men; double that number during war; a great marine establishment; public roads, and works, exclusively supplied from their labours; the horrors of the Bastille, and *arbitrary imprisonment*; a system of *espionage* rendering no man safe from the host of spies dispersed by the Court police; the spirit of freedom imbibed by the French soldiers whilst fighting in America;* the failure of the Caisse des Escomptes; the spirited remonstrances of the parliament; and the consequent general diffusion of political, philosophical, and infidel writings by the first geniuses of the age, who levelled their wit equally at the pulpit and the throne, and thus unloosed the religious and political prejudices of the people, and destroyed the common bonds of society. To add to the general discontent, an extraordinary storm of uncommonly large hail, or rather pieces of ice, destroyed the crop of 1788, at a moment when the general scarcity throughout Europe prevented the neighbouring nations from furnishing a supply adequate to the wants of the French people, under such a calamity. To what a situation must a country

* Is it impossible that our soldiers in France should imbribe a like fever? Have not Spain, Germany, Portugal, and Russia, already caught a portion of the infection, which has been ludicrously termed the king's evil?

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be reduced whose political or financial existence depends on the harvest!! Mr. Pitt thought this revolution dangerous to the political establishments of his own country; and also thought *he* had a right to suggest the return of the old government. The whole Continent therefore were stirred up by the instigation of British gold, and the old adulterous cry of "Church and King in danger" was sounded from Cornwall to the most northern parts of Scotland. Whether the Kirk was included I know not, but, however, its members echoed the horrid blast.

This war commenced in 1793, and has been generally termed the Anti-Jacobin. A peace was concluded in 1801, leaving the French in possession of their own form of government; and even recognizing its legitimacy. The *taxes* which, on William Pitt's accession in 1784, amounted annually to £21,657,609, in 1801 amounted to £61,278,018. The debt increased the first few years of that war in the following ratio :—

	Debt.	Interest.
	£.	£.
Before the Anti-Jacobin war began (in 1793,) the amount was.....	257,213,043	9,669,435
In that same year was added	6,250,000	252,812
Amount at the end of 1793.....	263,463,043	9,922,247
In the year 1794 was added	15,676,525	773,324
Amount at the end of 1794	279,139,567	10,695,571
In the year 1795 was added	25,609,897	1,227,415
Amount at the end of 1795	304,749,464	11,922,986
In the year 1796 was added	41,303,699	1,850,373
Amount at the end of 1796	346,053,163	13,773,359
In the year 1797 was added	67,087,668	3,241,790
Amount at the end of 1797	413,140,831	17,015,149

And at its termination the National Debt amounted to £579,931,447.

In 1803 Mr. Pitt again went to war with France;

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Why, nobody besides himself can possibly tell. Should I ever meet his wandering spirit on the banks of the Styx, I may perhaps learn—but he certainly never told any one when alive, not even his dearest friends. In 1806, (January the 23rd.) he died the death of a mortal, but his *spirit* still haunts our ill-fated country—the ghostly terror of all sound and enlightened patriots. The most costly monuments have been erected to his memory, and the most idolatrous inscriptions record the *gratitude* of his infatuated worshippers—*gratitude* for the valuable legacy of a *thousand millions* of *debt* entailed on their future resources—*gratitude* for the destruction of their liberties—and *gratitude* for the cold blooded slaughter of their relatives and friends!!! The ambition of Mr. Pitt, his profligate waste of blood and treasure, were alone rivalled by the profligacy of Napoleon. I am at a loss to whom the superiority should be adjudged. Mr. Pitt had no children, and his family dynasty is now at an end; had he possessed such paternal objects of generosity, he might have had more mercy on posterity. He was certainly a man of uncommon talents and glittering eloquence: time and future historians will impartially decide how they have been used for the lasting welfare of his country.

I do not mean to attack his private integrity, for he left the world without titles or property; but his panegyrists alledge in proof of it, that he died in DEBT, and that his countrymen discharged it!* When the false glare of the morning sun shall have passed away, and when the *glory* shall have faded, then will be apparent the gloom of night.

Other wars with France and America have raged

* Upwards of £40,000.

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since Mr. Pitt's death, if possible more murderous and expensive than the former. I cannot enter into their causes, but this is one of the estimates of the increase of unredeemed debt. Peace was signed 1815.

Total Amount of the National Debt unredeemed on the 1st. Feb. in each year.

	GREAT BRITAIN	IRELAND.
	Debt Unredeemed.	Debt funded in Great Britain, Unredeemed.
1786	£238,231,248	——
1787	237,568,498	——
1788	236,111,598	——
1789	234,605,248	——
1790	233,046,398	——
1791	231,458,898	——
1792	229,951,798	——
1793	227,989,148	——
1794	232,064,743	——
1795	244,936,323	——
1796	293,558,566	——
1797	346,113,465	——
1798	364,757,880	2,909,596
1799	392,612,323	6,813,066
1800	394,275,752	11,232,881
1801	413,038,977	14,839,521
1802	459,067,551	18,922,343
1803	480,672,476	21,224,585
1804	484,162,622	23,952,329
1805	493,127,726	31,562,901
1806	517,280,561	35,484,052
1807	533,675,543	37,996,659
1808	536,776,026	42,510,699
1809	535,741,052	44,513,611
1810	541,957,854	47,100,034
1811	545,662,698	48,544,568
1812	556,284,819	52,188,292
1813	575,211,392	58,276,751
1814	644,168,169	66,678,317
1815	649,074,235	72,208,695
1816	699,315,516	86,452,005
1817	682,769,314	83,944,904

The total ways and means of the LAST year, including about ten millions of loans, were 75,376,885*l.* from which the charges, drawbacks, and factitious Irish sums being deducted, the NET AMOUNT applicable to the public service was 60,836,853*l.*; but the NET EXPENDITURE of the same year was

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80,185,829*l.* consequently there was a *deficiency* amounting to 19,348,876*l.* Mr. Tierney, in another view, describes it as sixteen millions.

By the Irish Finance accounts it appears, that the net revenue of that island is but 6,380,766*l.* whereas the expenditure is 14,612,560*l.* causing a deficiency of 8,311,794*l.*; which, by a late act incorporating the two Exchequers, is to be added to the deficiency in Great Britain, making by this account a total deficiency for 1816 of 27,660,670*l.* or, according to another account, of above thirty-three millions!

Many of these items may not be quite correct, so we will pass on and endeavour to ascertain the amount of the revenue at this period; whether it has increased or decreased; and what is the sum total of our National Debt. The expences of the year no one can pretend to guess until it is closed.

Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain in the Years ending April 5, 1815, 1816, and 1817.

Consolidated Fund	£45,097,526
War Taxes	21,302,349
Duties annually granted	3,093,211
Four and a half per cent.	25,020
Total in 1815	69,518,107
Consolidated Fund	46,443,798
War Taxes	21,094,875
Duties annually granted	3,052,587
Four and a half per cent	19,952
South Sea Duty	8,697
Total in 1816	70,619,910
Consolidated Fund	42,513,418
War Taxes	10,405,603
Duties annually granted	3,090,837
Four and a half per cent.	26,639
South Sea Duty	5,803
Total in 1817	56,042,303

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Net Produce of the Consolidated Fund in the Years ending April 5, 1816, April 5, 1817.

	5th July, 1815.			10th October, 1815.			5th January, 1816.			5th April, 1816.			Year end. Ap. 5, 1816.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	1,016,376	16	4½	1,458,948	5	5¾	1,128,120	2	11½	844,112	15	11½	4,447,558	0	9¼
Excise	4,486,150	0	0	4,292,302	10	7½	4,526,139	0	0	4,124,635	0	0	17,429,226	10	7½
Stamps	1,383,944	8	7	1,686,515	15	6	1,520,340	2	0	1,520,536	15	9	6,111,337	1	10
Post Office	396,000	0	0	387,000	0	0	354,000	0	0	378,000	0	0	1,515,000	0	0
Assessed Taxes	2,514,391	19	0½	564,394	7	5¼	2,521,343	9	8	726,909	9	5	6,327,039	5	6¼
Land Taxes	431,451	13	7	140,455	16	4½	373,840	7	4¾	116,425	7	11	1,062,173	5	3¾
Miscellaneous Duties	319,030	3	6	819,269	15	6½	568,503	5	1½	840,937	7	10	2,547,740	12	0
Interest from Ireland	878,822	19	3	1,103,698	11	11	916,115	19	10	1,399,085	17	9	4,297,723	8	9
War Taxes	614,035	17	4¼	781,762	9	2	614,035	17	4½	690,165	16	1½	2,706,000	0	0
	12,040,203	17	8¼	11,234,347	12	0½	12,522,438	4	4	10,646,808	10	9	46,443,798	4	9¼
1817.															
Customs	767,847	8	10¼	943,850	18	3¾	746,465	19	5¾	795,467	15	4¼	3,252,131	15	0¼
Excise	3,838,808	0	0	4,178,819	15	7½	4,132,724	0	0	3,669,218	0	0	15,819,569	15	7½
Stamps	1,500,414	8	1	1,487,447	19	1	1,461,325	5	11	1,492,611	19	3	5,941,799	12	4
Post Office	353,000	0	0	365,000	0	0	330,000	0	0	342,000	0	0	1 390,000	0	0
Assessed Taxes	2,207,658	17	9	714,270	10	8¼	2,134,484	8	9¼	868,104	11	7¼	5,924,518	8	9¾
Land Taxes	409,045	13	1	165,414	12	11	378,531	19	9	142,085	8	1½	1,095,077	13	10½
Miscellaneous Duties	374,181	15	10¼	814,738	17	11¼	417,403	12	7	879,015	2	6½	2,485,339	8	11
Interest from Ireland	977,405	4	10	1,235,306	13	2	946,760	12	4				3,159,472	10	4
War Taxes	614,035	17	4¼	555,941	4	8½	571,917	19	5¾	305,889	14	11½	2,047,784	16	6
	11,042,397	5	9¾	10,460,220	5	5¼	11,118,813	18	3¾	8,494,392	11	10½	41,115,694	1	5¼

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One account says for the current year 1817, above 40 millions will be to be supplied by loans and other factitious means; the interest and charges on the funded and unfunded debts alone, amounting on the 5th of January last, to 47,241,067*l.* being from two to three millions more than the public revenues, without the expiring war taxes!

However from a Parliamentary paper bearing date "Mercurii 9° die Julii, 1817," I extract the following resolution.

Resolved, that the total amount of the Funded Debt, of the United Kingdom, *Unredeemed* was on the 1st of February, 1816.	£810,046,036
And on the 1st of February, 1817, ...	790,050,980
Being a diminution of	£ 19,995,056

Now any country gentleman would suppose from this ministerial statement that a real diminution had taken place. But what is the fact? The diminution of 19 millions is pretended from the Commissioners having purchased stock to that amount; and this as I said before is not redeeming it, since it has never been given up to us or erased from the books, but we still pay interest for it. But even this very money with which it was transferred to the Commissioners was *borrowed*, as we had not sufficient that year to meet our expences and the interest of the debt by many millions! Where is the juggle then, for we find the said Commissioners will have again for the use of this year 16 millions to buy up more stock? Why, in another part of this ministerial document you find the following. "*Probable* amount of UN-*funded* Debt unprovided for 5th January, 1818, £66,047,192!" All this sometime or other must be

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funded or bought up by the Commissioners: so to 790,050,980
add 66,047,192

£856,098,172

Real amount of Unredeemed National Debt in 1817, being an increase when funded, since 1816, of 45,252,136*l.*!

The amount of what is termed the sinking fund or redeemed (alias transferred) Debt standing in the names of certain Commissioners I cannot exactly discover. It may probably be between two and three hundred millions. Thus the *real* total amount of the National Debt is ELEVEN HUNDRED MILLIONS; requiring with all the expences *connected with it* an annual interest of FIFTY MILLIONS, and which annual interest must be annually raised in taxes on the people of Great Britain and Ireland!!! The expence of collecting of this enormous burthen alone requires near four millions per annum!

A few historical facts may be here introduced. That this overwhelming Debt has gradually increased nearly every year during the last century—That previous to its contraction, we had a better constitution, and comparatively no pauperism—That, with one exception, we have never been even threatened with invasion—That *we* have ourselves invaded every quarter of the globe—That we have been generally the first to declare war—That our paper money has been constantly supporting war on the Continent—That our Debt *s still* increasing notwithstanding ministerial predictions—That the unfunded debt of this year alone, will prevent the action of the

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sinking fund on the funded Debt for four years to come, besides its probable further accumulation in the mean time—That in times of peace, previous to any debt, we had never a standing army of 5000 men, and that now we have one of above one hundred thousand privates and several thousand officers—That the civil list is now twelve hundred thousand pounds, sterling—That the sinecures, pensions, and useless places amount to several hundred thousand pounds, annually—And, that an immense sum is annually required for the pensions of half-pay and wounded soldiers and sailors whose limbless bodies disgrace our sheets!!

What must be the national revenue of this country, what must be the imposts and taxes deducted from the people, and what the profits of a commerce which can enable the British people to maintain *sacred* this terrific structure?

The Morning Chronicle, a daily journal, in point of character the first in Europe, and which for thirty years has ably and consistently opposed this growing evil, remarks on the 17th July. "A gloomy proof of our 'flourishing' condition, is to be found in the *decrease* in the receipts at the Exchequer. This decrease is spoken of in a triumphant tone, by some who have asserted, that it is not of such magnitude as might have been expected. *They say so* who pretended to pride themselves but a short time since, on the *flourishing* condition of the Country.—They who have talked so much about temporary evils: they who have prognosticated a speedy return to an increase of revenue and a decrease of charge, they say so. Stocks may rise, but their rise is no proof of

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prosperity. Times were never more calamitous than at present, and yet stocks rise; they are, therefore, not to be taken as a just standard. Their life's blood is drawn from paper; if no paper were in circulation, which, though it has been productive of much good, has counterbalanced its advantages by enormous evils, it would be laughable to talk of raising seventy millions a year in taxes from a nation, the metallic currency of which never exceeded twenty-five. Paper, like a magic talisman, performs wonders; it serves to pay the interest of the national debt, and to discharge the taxes; and so long as paper, which is of no intrinsic value, can usurp the place of gold and silver with credit, so long may continue a system, which must at length terminate in ruin. One of the effects of its inordinate issue is, that its credit depends on taxation. But to taxation there is a boundary; the omnipotence of parliament cannot extend it with success beyond its limits. All the clumsy machinery of ministers will tumble to pieces, the instant that the amount of taxation presses with a momentum beyond its power of resistance. Taxation must bear a relative proportion to the means of the empire; if it exceeds that proportion, it becomes oppressive, and oppressive in proportion as it exceeds. To keep the funding system alive, taxes of enormous magnitude are raised: but this system, which is perishable, like every thing around it, begins to exhibit symptoms of debility and decay. With its growth have increased the seeds of destruction, which, spreading like a cancer on the human frame, paralyze its nerves, and threaten its descent into the tomb of all the capulets."

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PAINE says, " Those who had formerly predicted that the funding system would break up when the debt should amount to one hundred and fifty millions, erred only in distinguishing between insolvency and actual bankruptcy; for the insolvency commenced as soon as the Government became unable to pay the interest in cash, or to give cash for the bank notes in which the interest was paid, whether that inability was known or not, or whether it was suspected or not. *Insolvency always takes place before bankruptcy; for bankruptcy is nothing more than the publication of that insolvency.* In the affairs of an individual it often happens that insolvency exists several years before bankruptcy, and that the insolvency is concealed and carried on till the individual is not able to pay one shilling in the pound. A Government can ward off bankruptcy longer than an individual; but insolvency will inevitably produce bankruptcy, whether in an individual or in government. If then the quantity of bank notes payable on demand, which the bank has issued, are greater than the bank can pay off, the bank is insolvent; and when that insolvency is declared, it is bankruptcy."

As the Debt has increased—so has the total amount and lesser subdivisions of paper. For fifty years, there were no bank notes for a sum less than *twenty pounds.* When the debt got to about 70 millions, there were *fifteen pound-notes* made; before it reached 150 millions, there were *ten pound-notes*; before it had reached 500 millions, there were *two pound-notes* and *one pound-notes* made. The country bankers now issue paper in abundance. The Bank of England have issued *silver tokens* the intrinsic

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value less than the nominal, and the country has been inundated with silver and copper local tokens, on many of which great loss has been suffered by the holders from the flight and insolvency of the issuers. The guineas are no where to be discovered in any quantity, and the Crown as yet only give sovereigns in *exchange* for old guineas. Some of these evils do not prevail to the extent they did, but a new war producing the same cause will most certainly bring the same effect.

The Poor rates have also maintained a comparative increase.

In the year 1792, our whole annual expenditure amounted to about 16,500,000*l.* of which about nine millions defrayed the interest of the National Debt, and the remainder provided for the expenses of the state.—At the close of the war, in 1815, the sum required by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to support a *peace* establishment, was about 56,000,000! thirty-five millions and a half for the interest of the debt, and about eighteen and a half to defray the expenses of the State. In the year 1792, the poor rates amounted to 2,100,587*l.* and in 1812, it had reached the enormous sum of 6,452,656*l.*! At the former period the number of persons receiving parish aid amounted to more than 800,000; at the latter, to above 2,000,000. And it must be remarked that this calculation, about *one* fifth of the people, *is confined to England and Wales; Ireland and Scotland having no poor laws.*

I have before me a table exhibiting at one view, the disproportion between the advance made in the price of labour, and the rise which has taken place in the price of corn, with its consequent progressive

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pauperism, from the Revolution, 1688, to the year 1812.

Years.	Price of Bread.	Value of the £ sterling in quartern loaves.	Average money wages of husbandry labour.	Bread wages in quartern loaves.	Poor Rates.	Number of Paupers.
	d.		s.			
1687	3	80	6	24	665,365	563,964
1776	6½	37	8	25	1,523,163	695,177
1785	6	40	8	16	1,943,649	818,851
1792	7	34	9	15	2,645,520	955,326
1803	10	24	10	12	4,113,164	1,039,716
1811	12	20	12	12	5,922,954	1,247,659
1812	20	12	15	9	6,452,656	2,079,432

The report of the Committee of Inquiry into the state of the Poor and the Poor Laws not being printed, I cannot ascertain their actual condition or the amount of the rates. But I think I shall not exceed the total amount of public and private charity, if I name the sum of £20,000,000. And how inadequate this is to afford them any comfortable relief is well known to all. It appears by a paper laid before parliament, that notices have been served on the collectors of excise in Ireland, for discontinuing the following taxable articles during the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1818:—4567 hearths, 21,357 windows, 277 four-wheeled carriages, 576 servants, and 1,215 horses. It is quite certain that we shall have this ensuing winter, a great mass of pauperism dependant on gratuitous assistance; nor can it be denied that the wealthier orders are less able to afford that assistance this year than the last; for though trade has certainly considerably revived, yet it has not been a very gaining revival.

The circumstance which imposes upon vulgar minds respecting the wealth and *resources* of Great

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Britain, is the facility with which the loans required by the ministry are obtained. Now such is the nature of the system, that the greater its excess the more apparently flourishing; because it maintains itself on the ruin of all other interests, and therefore is itself a preferable interest to all others; and nothing is more probable than that it should be most flourishing at the very period of its destruction. But this facility of filling up a loan, this factitious credit depends in a great degree on the impulse given to the public funds, and on the issue of Bank paper and Exchequer bills. However, I shall not enter into any argument as to the extent of the real resources which have, up to the present time, enabled the state to support its public funds and bank paper. I shall merely observe that the enormous loans obtained by the British government, go but little farther in proof of the *real* wealth of the nation, than the loans of five hundred millions, or a milliard livres, opened by the convention or the directory of France, and filled equally as fast with assignats, went in proof of the public riches or wealth of that kingdom, while it contained within itself such a prodigious mass of paper money.

While these prodigious expenses and public debts have been increasing, Mr. Pitt and his pupils have always told you your *capital* was *accumulating*, and that an increased circulating medium was necessary for the purposes of commerce. What! an accumulation of *debt* an accumulation of capital! Is a man mortgaging his real property increasing and securing that real property? Is a system originating out of poverty, from an inability to meet our expenditure, is this a system of increasing and stable wealth? What! the more we borrow, the more wealthy do we

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grow? Then, indeed, have we found the philosopher's stone, or the long sought secret of the Alchemists. But what an insolent attack on common sense. What an insult on the character and understanding of our countrymen. Yet too true it is that Mr. Pitt succeeded in establishing this paradox, and his disciples in maintaining it; and so infatuated are the generality of the higher classes especially, such a mist is before their understandings, that I fear no reasoning, however forcible, can prove its fallacy. We always observe (as in Dousterswivel in Old Mortality) whenever an adventurer entraps a victim, although the main scheme should fail, with how many delusive afterpieces he excites golden dreams, and how many Arabian modes of making money are administered to the delusion. The Sinking Fund has been one of these jack-o'-lanterns of salvation: but what real effect has it had? How often do we perceive an individual redeem his shattered fortunes by such a principle? It has kept up the *faith* to be sure; but will it not end in the same sore disappointment, as a sentence on one of the elect, who, in a confident expectation of heaven, is cast into the bottomless pit? And, as Mr. Cobbett has said, if this sum had been left in the people's hands, would it have been of *no use to them*? Would it not at any rate have helped to prevent the debt *since that time* from being AUGMENTED 800 MILLIONS?—I shall not deny that in its original and genuine proposition it was well founded; but I do contend, that in the use which has been and WILL be made of it, nothing has more mainly contributed to keep up the life and vigour of the plot. It has deluded the country, by inducing them to believe it would liqui-

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date any debt they had or might hereafter contract; and, in the second place, by fostering our destructive *credit*, in annually buying up sufficient stock to enable the loan contractors and jobbers to regain their money, and thus to lend it over and over again to the public. It has had the same effect as if a miller, to save his house and mill from a violent flood, were to raise the dam and shut his sluices; it is true the water is restrained for a time, but at last it accumulates to such a pressure, as to overpower all obstacles, and bring total destruction on the whole establishment; far better had it been permitted to have taken its natural course, for though the injury might have been considerable, yet temporarily averted, it proved in the end more destructive.

Money is the mere representative of wealth—agriculture, manufactures, and commerce are the only real mines of a country. Productive labour by all political economists is justly accounted the only solid wealth. There is then an anomaly in our present situation, so totally opposed to all sound principles; so paradoxical in its nature; so ruinous in its effects, and of such increasing progressive ratio, as cannot long subsist without beggaring the great mass of the people, and finally ruining itself. I allude to funded property, that is, *unproductive* labour, being the only flourishing interest in the kingdom, and deriving its support from sources of productive labour, whose channels of industry are now nearly choked up. This cannot endure *for ever:* for if the springs of a river are dried up, its bed must soon be left dry; or if it discharges water in a greater body than it receives it, it must one day or other be completely drained.

The POOR RATES are also such another griping

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call on industry, and are such a constant encouragement and cause of mendicity and vice, as, in a few years, must destroy the Public Credit, unless a remedy speedily effects a suppression of its evils and unequal hardships. They now amount to much more than the property tax at ten per cent.; and in some parts of the kingdom twenty-five shillings in the pound has been paid. The rates in Birmingham some months since amounted to near seventy thousand pounds, and were not half adequate to the relief of the wretched paupers. This is an evil requiring an immediate remedy; for although the number of paupers should decrease, yet the rates will not diminish, but will be applied to the more effectual relief of many who were obliged to be content with a scanty pittance, whilst there were so many incumbents on the books. And the burthen increases in a growing ratio, cutting with a double edge, since those who one week contributed to the levies, are the next week dependant on them. Mr. Vansittart's wise scheme of borrowing money to lend again, and paying interest for what he receives none—this desperate plan is no other than commencing the funding or ANTICIPATING system into parish affairs. It is anticipating the rates—so, should not a gaining trade very materially increase it will only avert the pauperism, that it may come upon us more heavily at a future day, when we shall have diminished rates and yet be necessitated to refund the loan. To what a precipice are we year after year drawing nigh! and that the people or rather that the oligarchy should still be deceived! Yet it does not surprize me, for I have often observed in the country a very similar precedent. There is an exact parallel in the life of a country 'Squire, who with a taste

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for expense keeps open house—gives good dinners and choice wines—a good pack of hounds—his mansion filled with noisy friends, who ride his horses, sleep in his beds, gallop with him over his neighbour's corn fields—and call him a d————d good fellow. Yes, as long as there is clover and good loaves and fishes to be got, the 'Squire does not want friends or followers, to encourage his expense; while the sober, reflecting farmer who calmly prognosticates his approaching ruin, is scandalized as a defamer, and a croaking cold-blooded mortal. But when the last 1000*l.* has been raised, when the attorney comes and swears there is no more land to be mortgaged—when the steward declares no one will trust any longer—when no one will *give credit*—then is the 'Squire's last hour drawing nigh—the bailiffs arrive, and all of a sudden he finds himself in the King's Bench: the old friends turn on their heels, saying, " he was a d....d profligate spendthrift and they always foresaw his ruin." Then do all the deceits and trespasses before so defensible, receive their true character of folly and aggression.

All the weak expedients and subterfuges of late years will only aggravate the eventual mischief: if I dont balance my accounts to day, I must to morrow. " Justice is the virtue that works best for a constan-
" cy; and best serves every body's interest in time
" and in turn."

I should wish to know of any law or reason, human or super-human which can authorize these state empirics in spending the money of generations yet unborn? I should wish to know whether law or equity will sanction the sale of an entailed estate, or will oblige an infant to discharge the personal debts his

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deceased father had contracted? Will posterity never wish to carry on their wars? Have ministers then really re-established the "Balance of power" and the "Balance of trade?" Have they actually got "indemnity for the past," and "security for the future?" Is Europe really then in such a composed and contented situation as to render a long continuance of peace probable? Is the Continent so thankful for the loan of its old royal families? And how have *we* gained by these expensive turmoils—have we advanced the cause of Protestantism, or have we strengthened that of Popery? Have we truly increased and secured the commerce of our country? Have we advanced our character for political integrity? Does our conduct towards Denmark, or Murat, or towards divers little states bear witness to our unblemished honour? Have our morals improved, has the conduct of certain persons, have the weekly *crim. con.* actions in higher life, have the ..... gamblings, the eating and drinking, and every species of the lowest sensuality, has the unexampled want of chastity in both sexes, has the increase of gin shops,* and lotteries have our assize calendars, and the increase of capital punishments, and severe penal laws against multitudes of crime generated by the Pittite system, do all these disgraceful facts bear witness to an improved morality, or to the spread of Christianity in our own country? Have the poor laws, medicity and pauperism, with all their trains of lazarettos and eleesymonary foundations, added

* The total amount of excise licenses granted during the last year, ending 5th January, 1817, amounted to no less than 278,727; and of this number there were for ale 48,403, wine 11,791, and spirits 151,813.

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to the noble independence of the old British character? Have the corn-bills, the excise laws, the increased powers of magistrates; have extents in aid, with the late bill for the consolidation of their abuses, has my lord Sidmouth's circular, have the suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act with their consequent acts of indemnity; have the special juries, of 48 jurors nominated and appointed by the master of the Crown office, and out of which the defendant is obliged to select 12; have the encroaching powers of the Attorney-General with his *ex-officio* visitations, have the *police* regulations, have all these modern patches improved or strengthened our constitution? Has the impress of sailors, has the militia ballot, the tearing away the peaceable cottager from his frantic wife and weeping infants—have these infamous and cursed iniquities, strengthened the personal liberty of the subject?

Are the expensive and obsolete forms of law absolutely necessary to the expedition and purity of justice? Every poor man, it is said, may obtain justice—yes forsooth, every poor man *may* buy a whole lottery ticket, instead of a sixteenth, *if* he has the money to pay for it; and every man has access to the London tavern, who has got a purse. Has the Boroughmongering trade given way to a purer representation of the people—in short, have the popular side obtained one single inch of ground—or is "old Sarum still an integral and fundamental feature in our glorious constitution?*"—The Courier

* Part of a digested oration of which an honourable member was delivered in the house, May 20, 1817. This was another of those rich vials of adulation poured over a *matchless* constitution—a didactic ode in praise of corruption. It was well conceived, but

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talks of the admirable *pliability* of our Constitution! It is indeed consonant with the character of that venal print, which would accommodate itself to any men or measures, and to any times or circumstances. But this vaunted pliability reminds me of the vain architect, who, when his newly erected steeple rocked in a storm, pronounced it a proof of its solid and immovable stability. A school boy, when he wishes the ice to bear him, declares if it cracks it bears; but supposing it did not crack at all, would it not bear better still. Have the Walcheren and Copenhagen affairs, the sale of the Genonese, or the transfer of the Saxons added to our National character! The battle of Waterloo, I am proud to admit, was a truly glorious example of our natural physical courage, and of the incomparable talents of a great general—but I greatly fear it is the grave of our liberties, and the forerunner of much terrible carnage. But I wish to know if Buenos Ayres—if New Orleans, (where we lost more than half the number of men who fell at Waterloo;) I wish to know, if altogether,

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the honourable member, not having since spoken, is supposed to have been so overcome with the labour of the parturition, as to have been in the *lying-in ward* ever since. So they glory in the foulness of the waters; but Buffon says, *rats* always will wallow in the mire—and the more greeny stagnate is the filth, the more they delight in it. This honourable gentleman is one of the alarmists—a set of men who would run away from their own shadows, were it possible. Though certainly a man of some light ability, he is one of those beings who must stand with their mouths open, wondering and worshipping an idol. First, Mr. Fox was the attraction—then the kindness of Mr. Pitt seduced him, and latterly he has been a twinkling star in Mr. Canning's system. What miserable taste! It would seem as if our "glorious constitution" was like an old cheese—the greater the decay and number of mites, the more valuable the cheese.

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the war in Spain, where, assisted by the whole nation and the Portuguese, we were unable to expel the French till diverted in the north; I wish to know, whether our naval engagements with the Americans —whether our burning Washington and running away like an incendiary, who sets his neighbour's barns on fire, will adorn history with pages of British glory? Are the long lists of bankrupts and insolvent compositions the last thirty years—are our enormous public debts a test of improvement in our pecuniary concerns? Are the Tariffs—the Ukases—our commercial treaties with the continental nations, a proof of their gratitude and good will, or of their encouragement of our monopolies? Now, when these questions are candidly answered, I am sure it must be confessed there never was a period of greater distress and danger, or of a more degraded moral situation.

I shall extract some passages from a speculative writer, with whose theory I am not at all versed, from their eloquent allusion to the state of immorality, a century of bad government has now produced in all ranks.

"We will now pass to the consideration of ano-
"ther deadly disease in the public mind. The
"demoniacal passion for war possesses the majo-
"rity of all ranks. Many cry out against the ambi-
"tion of Kings, and the intrigues of Statesmen,
"and are ready to ascribe to these the chief guilt
"of the many and desolating wars which disgrace
"and afflict the nations: but the disease spreads far
"wider than these, and lies deeper than in royal
"ambition and ministerial intrigues; it is seated
"deep in the human heart; and, from whateve
"cause it may proceed, rages more in this country,

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" than in most others equal to it in civilization. " Perhaps this may be more especially from the " combination of two causes, which operate more in " conjunction here, than in any other of the king- " doms of Europe. The first is *more abundant* " *riches*, which inspire us not only with pride, but " with contempt of expence; the second, is a *sup-* " *posed security, on account of our insular situation,* " *from the actual horrors of war*, which hardens " our hearts against fear, and counteracts the feel- " ings of sympathy. For ages we have known little " of the horrors of war but from report. Hence " from the natural depravity of the human heart, " and the peculiar circumstances of the country, the " ministers of the crown find little difficulty either " in making any war, however needless or unjust, " popular among the majority; or in raising and " recruiting armies to carry it on; and, I might add, " little difficulty in raising money to support the " expence. Though it is in this part that the social " body is most susceptible of feeling, and but for " this war and destruction would generally have no " bounds. What other proof can be wanting of " the existence and depth of this moral disease in " the constitution of our country, than the more " than *fifty years'* warfare that we have been en- " gaged in, since the commencement of the last " century, and that it has generally been from ex- " haustion and poverty only, that we have been " made willing to sheath the sword. Oh! could our " hearts be made feeling, and the imagination realize " the hundreth part of the waste and plunderings, the " violations and burnings, the privations and distres- " ses, the agonies, and deaths, and sorrows of *fifty*

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" *years war!* Wars mostly originating in injustice,
" in ambition, in false honour and pride, begun in
" rashness, encouraged by notions of vain glory,
" and seldom terminated but from the failure of the
" means to carry them on. Could the imagination, I
" say, realize one hundreth part of this, and were
" our hearts as they ought to be, with what horror
" should we be struck at the thought of our frightful
" wickedness in the sight of the equal parent of all,
" and of the magnitude of the guilt contracted!
" And do any want any farther proof of the depth
" of this disease in the public mind, they need not
" go far; let them attend to what passes about them,
" at the present moment; let them listen to the bur-
" den of every man's conversation. We hear loud
" complaints on every hand, about taxes, about loss
" of trade, and the ruin of our manufacturers and
" farmers, the spread of poverty, and such like evils
" as personally affect us; but who says any thing
" about the *five millions* of lives that have been
" sacrificed, or of the souls that have been plunged
" into eternity, with all their sins upon them? Who
" laments the miseries that we have been so active in
" inflicting on our fellow creatures? Whom do we
" hear execrating the war on account of the crimes
" which have attended its march, or of the hardness
" of heart, and the dissoluteness of manners it has
" left behind it, and is spreading through all our
" towns, and villages, and hamlets. No; none of
" these evils are matters of general consideration,
" all is about taxes, and trade, and poverty. Yet
" still we call ourselves christians!

" From particulars we might go on to an extensive
" consideration of those various vices which abound

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" in the several classes of society, which aggravate " the disease that threatens the death of the social " body, and by which we might be farther enabled " to form a just opinion of our national moral cha- " racter: but we must be brief. In drunkenness, " profane swearing, and stealing, I suppose we are " pre-eminent among the civilized Christian Nations. " In adultery and whoredom we are not much behind " the most offending. In the passion for getting " money we excel other nations, as much as our trade " and commerce are greater than theirs; and it has " been from the inspirations of this demon that we " have committed such innumerable crimes against " the unoffending; plunged into bloody wars with " our neighbours, and carried ruin and extirpation " from one end of the world to the other. Among " the poor and labouring classes, the most degrading " vices of every sort, comporting with their condi- " tion and means, prevail and disgrace the public " streets; vices which have been growing as our " trade and manufactures have increased. The " manufacturing system has opened in every neigh- " bourhood sinks of disease, and seminaries of vice; " at once (and from very infancy) to deteriorate the " body, and corrupt the mind. Thus, that which " has been called *unexampled prosperity*, has been " converted into a curse. How much happier the " condition of our forefathers, when there was less " of riches and luxury to corrupt, and less of splen- " dour to fascinate; when the manners were more " simple, and the poor more generally scattered in " the fields to till the ground; and not only less ex- " posed to deteriorating diseases, but, farther re- " moved from corruption of morals. Not that there

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" was not always much of ignorance and vice: nor " is it to be denied, in spite of all the evils of the " present times, which we have to lament, that know- " ledge, and religion too, have been making pro- " gress among the labouring poor; but though there " are more, in proportion to the population, of truly " good and religious persons among these than in " ages past, yet those that are bad, are vastly more " so, than before our boasted prosperity; and still " the wiser and better are in no proportion to the " numerous wicked.

" Among the opulent, and higher classes of the " nobility and gentry, there appears to be a lament- " able and increasing ignorance of religion and " corruption of manners. A villager cannot be sup- " posed to be much acquainted with " high life:" " but the corruption is so great and undisguised, " many of the follies and vices so low and vulgar, " and the irreligion so openly and loudly proclaimed, " whilst the elevation of their rank, and streperous " style of living, expose them to a more extended " observation, that it is not possible but all must " observe. This extraordinary corruption of man- " ners, which distinguishes the very highest and " the very lowest classes in society, is a phenomenon " in the moral world, that cannot but strike the at- " tention both of the philosopher and the christian; " and is, I suppose, as I have before observed, to " be accounted for from the prevalence of a feeling, " common to these extremities of the social body, " CONTEMPT OF PUBLIC OPINION; or " rather to the common absence of a feeling: they " do not feel amenability to this tribunal; to which, " however, the middle classes being alive, their con-

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" duct is more under restraint from their earliest " youth; and hence better habits are formed, and " their morals are more correct."

This then is the consummation of a system emanating from the " Heaven-born minister," from the " Pilot who weathered the storm" ! ! The Mosaical allegory tells us the D———l was Heaven-born, though we know how Lucifer deceived poor Adam and Eve. We are now in the third year of that peace which was held out as a Land of Canaan, where would terminate all our misfortunes and hardships: yet not one single benefit has, as yet, accrued—And what is the response and thanksgiving for all those illusive promises of Mr. Pitt—the melancholy chaunting of the little children as they play about the gutters, which I lately overheard in a midland county:—

" Peace and plenty,
Bellies empty !"

What defect in our constitution was it which enabled Mr. Pitt to obtain this despotic influence over our property and understanding?

The answer to this question, is, *a corrupt representation of the democracy*—that is, a few aristocratical families returning the great majority of representatives, and thus enabling Mr. Pitt, by the immense patronage of government, arising partly out of an enormous expenditure, to corrupt their integrity. And as that expenditure increased, so much the more did his influence, from the increased quantity of patronage. Thus, although the great body of the people have been oppressed with the most grind-

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ing taxation, yet the few who could barter their parliamentary interest have advanced the fortunes of their families; and it has consequently been the interest of these few to support the war, to continue all the corruptions, all the sinecures and taxes,—and to oppose, with their whole might, any reform of the House of Commons.

This is the real cause—and the ONLY MODE of effecting a cure for the evils it has already brought about, or of preventing those now impending over us, is a reformed and extended representation of the people—such a reform, as shall give them a proper controul over taxation, and the modes of appropiating that taxation: and arranged on such a principle, as shall effectually prevent the representation from again becoming so deteriorated. Had the people possessed this just and necessary controul, they would never have permitted the creation of our enormous debt, since their sufferings would have long since necessitated them to make and preserve peace: Nor would a corrupt ministry ever have possessed the means of amalgamating the monied interest with their own unprincipled measures. Indeed such is the multitude of taxes, army and navy patronage, pensions, sinecures, offices and ecclesiastical preferment, that the members of the oligarchy cannot resist the temptation; and so long as these temptations exist, will they support the present destructive and unconstitutional system. Such is the real cause of all our misfortunes—*a want of a proper representation in the Commons House of Parliament.* The necessity of restoring the ancient *ascendancy* of the people has been long advocated by the wisest and most popular characters of the last century, by Junius,

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Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, and every great legislator, to the present advocates of the measure, Lord Erskine, Lord Grey, and Sir Francis Burdett.

Lord Chatham has declared "unless the House is "reformed from within, it will be reformed with a "vengeance from without." May 7, 1783, a few weeks after the famous coalition administration between Lord North and Mr. Fox *got in*, Mr. Pitt, who was then *out*, brought forward a motion respecting the reform of parliamentary representation. The following extracts are part of his speech on that occasion:

"A melancholy series of events, which had "eclipsed the glory of Britain, exhibited a reverse "of fortune, which could be accounted for only "upon this principle, that during the last fifteen "years, there had been a deviation from the prin-"ciples of that happy constitution, under which the "people of England had so long flourished..... He "need only advert to the history of a few years "recently passed; a history which he would touch "upon as shortly as possible, because it was not "only a most melancholy picture of calamitous and "disgraceful events, but, because it was so ex-"tremely difficult to mention it in any shape, that "would not appear invidious and personal." He then stated that "the disasterous consequences of the "American war, the immense expenditure of the "public money, the consequent heavy burthen of "taxes, and the pressure of all the collateral diffi-"culties produced by the foregoing circumstances, "gradually disgusted the people, and at last pro-"voked them 'to turn their eyes inward on them-

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" selves,' in order to see if there was not something " radically wrong at home, that was the chief cause " of all the evils they felt from their misfortunes " abroad. *Upon looking to that house, they found* " *that by length of time, by the origin and progress* " *of undue influence, and from other causes, the* " *spirit of liberty, and the powers of check and con-* " *troul upon the crown and the executive govern-* " *ment, were greatly lessened and debilitated.* " Hence clamours sprung up without doors, and " hence, as was perfectly natural, in the moment of " anxiety, to procure an adequate and a fit remedy to " a practical grievance, a spirit of speculation went " forth, and a variety of schemes, founded in " visionary and impracticable ideas of reform, were " suddenly produced..... Of the existence of a " *radical* error no one seemed to doubt. The house " itself had discovered that a secret influence of the " crown was sapping the very foundations of liberty " by corruption; the influence of the crown had been " felt within those walls, and had often been found " strong enough to stifle the sense of duty, and to " overrule the propositions made to satisfy the wishes " and desires of the people; the House of Commons " (in former parliaments) had been base enough to " feed the influence that enslaved its members; and " *thus was at one time the parent and the offspring* " *of corruption.*"

In another speech, April 18, 1785, when Mr. Pitt was still *out*, he said, " If we looked back to our " history, we should find that the brighest periods of " its glory and triumph were those in which the " House of Commons had the most complete confi- " dence in their ministers, and the people of England

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" the most complete confidence in the House of " Commons."

In another debate, (see Debrett's Par. Register, v. 18, p. 49,) Mr. Pitt asks " whether, if there had " always been a House of Commons who were the " *faithful stewards* of the interests of their country, " the *diligent checks* on the administration of the " finances—the *steady* and *uninfluenced* friends of " the people—the *burthens* which their constituents " are now doomed to endure, *could ever have been* " *incurred?*" " Under the present system, no " *honest* man can continue minister."—*Mr. Pitt.*

Can Mr. Gifford or any of Mr. Pitt's hired or sincere followers assert, that Mr. Pitt, *when in power*, acted up to these principles? Can any one have the unblushing effrontery to deny that he outdid all former spendthrifts in the profligacy of his public government? Can any of them deny that he trebled the burthens of his country, and increased threefold the corruption of parliament? If such a one can be procured, he must be the most hardened abettor of corruption. And what must we think of Mr. Pitt's conscience? Did he not deliberately and wilfully destroy the constitution of his country—and did he not sacrifice her interests to the gratification of his own inordinate and fatal ambition?

The remonstances against the present corrupt system have been incessant ever since—the most able and disinterested politicians have, by their speeches and writings, pronounced reform absolutely necessary, if the government wish to prevent a revolution—the great majority of the country are sternly demanding it as their right. And yet, notwithstanding, have the Boroughmongers adhered to, and openly de-

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fended all their baseness. How have our arguments been answered—not by argument, but by abuse and contumely—by outrageous contempt of public opinion —by treating the people as slaves and brutes—by accusing them of sedition and blasphemy—by endeavouring to bribe their advocates and to reconcile them to this corruption—by calling them "insolent" "wild," and visionary peasantry," or designating them, a "swinish multitude." "La Canaille"* synonymous with the *swinish* multitude, was an expression of contempt, for which the Parisian nobility have since paid terribly dear—and let the Boroughmongers tremble for their lives and property, if they pursue this course of exasperation. I will never inculcate a resort to force or violence, since good men in such times have no influence—and the labour of ages is in a moment destroyed; and although posterity very frequently are gainers by revolution, yet the existing generations seldom are, but I verily believe they will drive the people to it if they persevere much longer.

The following applicable extract is from a speech, delivered thirty years since, by a member of the upper house, one of our most eloquent advocates:

"An addressing House of Commons, and a "petitioning Nation; a House of Commons full of "confidence, when the nation is plunged in despair; "in the utmost harmony with ministers, whom the

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* "*Few of the Canaille* were to be seen." Morning Post, February 26, 1817. Part of the account of a grand military review of some thousand troops by the Prince Regent, in the third year of peace! "His Royal Highness," says that daubing print, "was received with shouts of applause!" Few of the Canaille were to be seen!

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" people regard with the utmost abhorrence; who " vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon " them for impeachments; who are eager to grant " when the general voice demands reckoning and " account: who, in all disputes between the people " and administration, presume against the people; " who punish their disorders, but refuse even to " inquire into the provocations to them;—this is an " unnatural a monstrous state of things in this con- " stitution. Sir, this is, in plain English, the de- " graded, disgraceful state of this assembly."*** " *********—" What is the vice and danger of the " times, in the opinion of those who rule at the " present moment? Is it not a contempt of the " authorities of government, and a disaffection to " the parliament of the kingdom?—What better can " be suggested by the wisdom of man for that evil, " than to make the parliament emanate from the " people—to make it the creature of their own crea- " tion? The constituent will then entertain confi- " dence in the representative, and the representative " will feel some more regard for the opinions and " wishes of those by whom he has been sent. Who " then is to raise up sedition against such a govern- " ment?"—*Erskine*, 1787.

If however you stoutly and constitutionally persevere, your cause being a just one, must finally be triumphant—the abolition of black slavery was the work of years, but, by perseverance, was at length successfully accomplished. The cry of corruption is, " the people must be kept down—must be deceived"—But the people will not be kept down, nor can they many years longer be deceived. Their " *ignorant impatience*" is so ravening, it must and

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will be satisfied. The old woman may croak on the domestic bribery and intrigues of their ladies maids, since the introduction of reading, writing, and arithmetic—The doctrinal Evangelicals may groan for the souls of their men servants, who will read blasphemous works against the personality of the Devil,—and are so prying as critically to examine the sacred volume—but the glorious consequence must be the decrease of priestcraft, superstition, and political tyranny. I shall not deny that this smattering of learning and politics may not have its temporary evils: it may make the press, for a time, more licentious,* and may cause the mechanic to think himself a sage legislator, and the spinning-girl a good judge of novels and poetry. But on account of these transitory concomitant evils of permanent good, would you for ever smother the people in stupid ignorance? Would you for ever exclude the rays of the sun, because they sometimes scorch vegetation? As well might the Ancients have interdicted the study and practice of medicine and surgery, because in their infancy, experiments were frequently fatal. Had these morbid Croakers prevailed, we never should have developed our nature—all things would have remained in *statu quo*, as they were at the beginning—and the "established order of things," as in the time of Nimrod, would have existed to this day—mankind would have been a herd of barbarians running naked and ferocious among the wild beasts of the forest. These *fearists* are really the most small

* Much is said of the licentiousness of the popular side, but I should wish to know by what name that spirit is to be designated, which daily prompts the court journals to deliberately forge clusters of lies, and to charge every advocate of the people's rights with designs of revolution and murder?

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minded people in existence—but they will not long bear the sway—no combination of fleecy clouds can for ever exclude the light of the sun. The *omnipotence* of an oligarchy must, in the end, give way to the omnipotence of justice, and the ascendancy of the people.

Sinecures they defend with the greatest zeal, as if they were their life's blood. "Sinecures," say they, "are not a hundreth part of your expenses." Very logical defence this; as well might they tell a pedestrian, who had toiled, with the greatest labour, a hundred miles, "Oh! you may as well go one more, you've gone a hundred, surely one more can make but little difference." But after a certain burthen is imposed, every additional pound is a cwt. in effect: as the old proverbs say—"the last feather of the load may break a man's back;" and, "the cord breaks at last by the weakest pull." Sinecures and useless places, however, *are* the greatest part of our burthens, in as much as without this circulating medium, ministers could not obtain the consent of parliament to the more grievous and excessive part of the taxation: Without such rewards, ministers could not reconcile the honourable house to large standing armies, or to wars manifestly contrary to the public interest. Sinecures are then the most mischievous part of the corruption—the very soul and body of the system. For if we weed the Pittite majorities during the last forty years of the pensioners, sinecurists, and holders of government offices, we shall find on almost every question, there has been a real constitutional majority on the popular side. But not to waste time on a subject so notoriously known to every man in the kingdom, I shall merely

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observe, that many persons now in that pure and honourable house have been convicted in buying and selling seats, which is declared treason by the British laws, and which is a worse species of treason than that against the king, being treason against the people; such venality is far more iniquitous than bribery in judges—because, judges legislate for individuals, the parliament for the public. This buying and selling is just as common as going to a cabinet-maker, and buying a chair to sit *on*.* And "the chancellor of the exchequer," said Mr. Tierney, some years since, to the House of Commons, "has only occasion for a paper-mill, which would serve him both for the purpose of manufacturing his bills and bonds, and buying the votes of parliament." Were I the premier, I would annually advertise in the Gazette, every Michaelmas, for seats and interest, with reference to Messrs. L. and S. cabinet-makers, No. 1, M. Square, or O. Q. Street, where may be seen the largest assortment of paper in the known world. Every year we are shocked with the most disgraceful and shameless apostacies of men, who, after advocating the cause of truth for forty years, will for a chancellorship of the Dutchy of Lancaster, a Welch judgship, or a seat at the Board of Controul, violate the dictates of their conscience, become *leeches* on the vitality of their

* "During the former administration of Lord S. (then Mr. A.) "a poor tinman offered him a sum of money for a place under "government, and was prosecuted in a trice—a fit oblation to the "outraged delicacy of the conscientious minister. Soon after- "wards, a noble Lord (now the colleague of this scrupulous per- "son) was detected in the practice of a similar but more serious "offence—viz. the sale of seats in the House of C. and success- "fully defended on the ground of notoriety of this branch of cor- "ruption."

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country, and openly encourage a system they have from their very birth, loathed as dishonest and dishonourable. This is most common among the lawyers. Why? because, in the profession of the law, there are more places and honours to be disposed of. The conduct and appointment of the English judges has generally been most exemplary and honourable; but it is certainly inconsistent with the spirit of our judicature, that a judge appointed by the crown, should lean to the side of the crown, and deny the prisoner the benefit of a dissentient jury; as it is also contrary to strict justice, that a political adviser of the crown, and a known adherent of government, should preside at a state trial; because, with the purest intention and a determination to be impartial, he must be prejudiced against a defendant, whose prosecution he had advised; and the English law commands a judge to take part with the prisoner. Delicacy, and a regard for public opinion, should, at least, have suggested any other person.

I shall here say a few words on the subject of libel. There is a great attempt to subvert the old law and equity on this point. Many of the judges would now have you believe, a jury has merely to decide on the fact of writing and publishing, and that they (the servants of the usual prosecutor, the king,) are to judge of the libellous tendency! If this were the case, why have a jury at all? The defendant generally acknowledges the publication. Why then not bring him up for judgment, without going to the expenses or delay of trial? Because this would too glaringly manifest the gross injustice of the new theory: the semblance of a jury must be kept up. Were the corruptionists once to succeed in establishing

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this despotism, they would speedily stifle all your cries for reformation, and, in fact, would arbitrarily imprison, notwithstanding your trial by jury, your Habeas Corpus, and Bill of Rights. Justice however demands that, when either government, a magistrate, or a private person, prosecute for libel, a jury of twelve men (and not the presiding judge) should inquire into and determine the following points from the evidence before them; *first*, as to the making or publishing of the book or writing; *secondly*, as to the intent in so doing; and, *thirdly*, as to the matter—whether it be criminal; that is, whether it contains contumely or reproach to the defamation of the prosecutor, and thereby endangers a breach of the public peace, by exposing the plaintiff to public hatred, contempt, or ridicule. Doubtless truth may *sometimes* be a libel; yet the exposure of vice, whether it be in the king or a private person, may, frequently, by its encouragement of morality, counterbalance the evil of a petty breach of the peace; and in that case, the jury should authorize the publishing and exculpate the defendant.* But this un-

* See the admirable reasoning of Junius in his celebrated preface.

"If any honest man should still be inclined to leave the construction of libels to the Court, I would intreat him to consider what a dreadful complication of hardships he imposes upon his fellow subjects—In the first place, the prosecution commences by *information* of an officer of the Crown, not by the regular constitutional mode of *indictment* before a grand jury. As the fact is universally admitted, or in general can easily be proved, the office of the petty jury is nugatory. The *Court* then judges of the nature and extent of the offence, and determines *ad arbitrium*, the *quantum* of the punishment, from a small fine to a heavy one, to repeated whipping, to pillory, and unlimited imprisonment. Cutting off ears and noses *might* still be inflicted by a resolute judge; but I will be candid enough to suppose

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certainty, as to what is and is not libellous, is that which the lawyers term "the beauty of libel—the glorious "uncertainty of the law." So long however as this disgraceful uncertainty remains, so long is there virtually no free press; for every politician must write —in fear and trembling—as a man walks on the sea shore, with a threatening precipice projecting some yards over his head.

But to return to sinecures and taxes. Taxes, say they, are only an imaginary evil, because the money is returned by various channels to those from whom it was collected! *Their* imaginations must surely have been influenced by some species of animal magnetism to have conceived such a sophism. This argument, says Dr. Hamilton, "is founded upon the principle of the mercantile system, that money constitutes wealth—a principle which has been ably refuted by writers on political economy, and is now generally abandoned. The farmer pays part of his produce, or its value, in taxes, and has so much the less for other purposes; that is, he is so much poorer. The money may be brought back to him, to purchase another part of his produce, for the consumption of the army or navy; but the same men who constitute

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"that penalties, so apparently shocking to humanity, would not be "hazarded in these times. In all other criminal prosecutions, "the jury decides upon the fact and the crime in one word, and "the Court pronounces a *certain* sentence, which is the sentence "of the law, not of the judge. If Lord *Mansfield's* doctrine be "received, the jury must either find a verdict of acquittal, contrary to evidence, (which, I can conceive, might be done by very "conscientious men, rather than trust a fellow creature to Lord "Mansfield's mercy) or they must leave to the Court two offices, "never but in this instance united, of finding guilty, and awarding "punishment."

See also the speeches of Mr. Fox, in introducing the Bill of 1792.

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the army and navy must have been maintained, and his produce would have found a market. Even if money were admitted to constitute wealth, it is not true that all the money raised by taxes returns to those who pay them. A large part is sent abroad, for *subsidies* to foreign powers, and for the support of armies employed in foreign service." And if any one will consult Dr. Hamilton, he will find that the portion of national income which can be appropriated to public purposes, and the possible amount of taxation, are limited; and that we are already far advanced to the utmost limit.

If such then are the arguments of the Pittites, it is obvious they will persist in their wild and infatuated career—and it is obvious that our *only* mode of counteracting and preventing them, is, to obtain our former ascendancy in the House of Commons, where, by denying the crown the supplies asked for, we *could*, formerly, always prevent the ministry going to war. That we have now no such power is undeniable; *that we, and* ALL *nations ought to have, is equally undeniable.*

ON REFORM.

Parliaments, it appears, were coeval with our very first conformation as a political society. From our earliest history all matters of importance were debated and settled in the great councils of the realm —councils, consisting of the king, the lords spiritual and temporal; and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, representatives of the COMMONS of

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the realm, in parliament assembled. This practice and the trial by jury seem to have been universal among the northern nations, particularly the *Germans*, and carried by them into all the nations of Europe, which they over-ran at the dissolution of the *Roman* empire. Indeed this "great council," this "meeting of wise men" existed in the several realms of the Heptarchy. And, after their union, the *Mirror*, c. 1, § 3, informs us, that King *Alfred* ordained for "a perpetual usage, that these councils should meet twice in the year, or oftener, if need be, to treat of the government of God's people; *how they should keep themselves from sin, should live in quiet, and should receive right.*" The House of Commons *was* composed of representatives from the counties, cities, and boroughs. And trade being of a fluctuating nature it was left to the crown to summon the most flourishing towns to send representatives to parliament. In strictness, all members ought to have been inhabitants of the places for which they are chosen. Stats. 1, Hen. 5, c. 1: 23 Hen. 6, c. 15; but this having been long disregarded, was at length entirely repealed, by Stat. 14, Geo. 3, c. 58. And numberless statutes had prevented any persons, enjoying place, or pension, or anyways connected with government, from sitting in the house, excepting the treasurer or comptroller of the navy, the secretaries of the treasury, the secretary to the chancellor of the exchequer, secretaries of the admiralty, under-secretary to any of the secretaries of state, deputy pay-master of the army, and persons having an office or employment for life, or during good behaviour, who are expressly excepted from such prohibition, and are therefore eligible.

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The qualifications of voters were different in different places, though I am unacquainted with any reason which could justify such partiality. It was the most important and indisputable ancient privilege and right of the House of Commons, that all grants of taxes or parliamentary aids, do begin in their House, and are first bestowed by them. The reason for this exclusive privilege, is, that the supplies are raised upon *the body of the people*, and therefore it is proper that *they* alone should have the right of taxing themselves. And that the Lords, being a permanent hereditary body, created at pleasure by the King, are supposed more liable to be influenced by the crown, and that when once influenced, to continue so, than the Commons, who are a temporary elected body, freely chosen by the people; it would therefore be extremely dangerous to give the Lords any power of framing new taxes for the subject.

" My Lords, this doctrine is not *new*—it is as old " as the Constitution—it grew up with it—it is its " support.—*Taxation* and *Representation* are inse- " parably united—God hath joined them—*No Bri-* " *tish Parliament* can put *them asunder*.—To en- " deavour to do it is to stab our vitals.—My position " is this, I will repeat it—I will maintain it to my " last hour. This position is founded on the laws " of nature, For whatever is a man's own, is abso- " lutely his own.—No man has a right to take it " from him without his consent, either expressed " by *himself* or his *Representative*.—Whoever at- " tempts to do it *commits an injury*.—Whoever does " it commits a *robbery*—he destroys distinction be- " tween *Liberty* and *Slavery*." *Vid. Lord Camden's Speech on American Taxation.*

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" It is the prerogative of the crown to make war ; " the prince may draw the sword, but the House of " Commons alone can give that sword an edge. " Had it not been for this check, the Kings of Eng- " land had been long since despotic. They were " seldom fond of meeting their parliaments, except- " ing they wanted money : as soon as that was " granted, the parliament was dissolved. Sensible " of this, it has been the policy of all *honest* parlia- " ments to make the redress of grievances and the " supplies go hand in hand. I shall now only ob- " serve, that it has been the opinion of all men, " that Englishmen can never lose their liberties, but " by the treachery of their representatives ; because " the House of Commons, *while uncorrupt*, has " been, and ever must be, an impassable barrier " between liberty and despotism." *The House of Commons, the barrier of English liberty.*'

The cause of all our sufferings, is, that this old constitution of the House of Commons is completely subverted. The body is left, but the spirit which gave it energy and influence, is completely dead. To prove these facts, multitudes of works have issued from the press, containing sufficient evidence to prove it ten times over. I shall only state two of those facts :

The first fact is, that the House of Commons, formerly annually re-chosen, has increased the legal term of its duration, *in proportion as the national debt accumulated.* In the reign of William the Third the triennial act was passed, authorising themselves to sit *three* years ; see Stat. 6. W. and M. c. 2. And by Statute 1, Geo. 1, st. 2. c. 38, the Septennial act was passed, by which the duration of parliament was

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prolonged (or as the act says, *limited)* to SEVEN YEARS. These were most unconstitutional acts, contrary to the known letter and spirit of our constitution; and which never would have passed, had not the House been stocked with c.....

The second fact, is, that not a fourth of the members of the present House of Commons are the representatives of the people. More than half of them are returned by the Peers, and one fourth by a few wealthy Commoners. Great numbers of the Boroughs are so depopulated and the property so entirely in the hands of one man, that, that one man as regularly appoints two representatives as he appoints two servants to regulate his domestic house. And, in many instances, the representation of these rotten Boroughs is openly purchased for so much bank paper—the present price is about a Thousand a year! This, also, is in open violation of numerous statutes for the prevention of bribery and undue election.

And in numerous other Boroughs, where there is some semblance of free election, the franchise is so limited that the chief owner of the property virtually returns the members.

The received account of the present state of the representation, is as follows: (see Mr. Oldfield's recapitulation, part 2, vol. iv. p. 300, Ed. 1816.)

Members returned by eighty-seven Peers in England and Wales	218
By twenty-one Peers in Scotland	31
By thirty-six Peers in Ireland	51
Total returned by Peers	300

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Members returned by ninety Commoners in England and Wales	137
By fourteen Commoners in Scotland	14
By nineteen Commoners in Ireland	20
Nominated by Government	16
Total returned by Commoners and Government	187
Total returned by nomination	487
Independent of nomination	171
Total of the House of Commons	685

Such is very nearly the state of the present representation of the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland! To many of our colonies we have been more generous than to ourselves, for several of them have infinitely more preferable constitutions than the parent country.

This statement exhibits the palpable absurdity of there being more representatives than constituents! Eighty-seven voters return two hundred and eighteen members! Twenty-one return thirty-one! And thirty-six suffrages return fifty-one representatives to the House of Commons. That is, one hundred and forty-four Peers or aristocrats, return three hundred of their own creatures to represent one half of the Commoners of the three kingdoms, whom the constitution says, shall freely elect their own representatives from their own body!!! And one hundred and twenty-three powerful Commoners (many of them yearning for peerages) return one hundred and seventy-one members! One hundred and seventy-one only are returned by the people, and even in these places the suffrage is generally so

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limited, that bribery and local interest virtually return the greater part.

Let us no longer call it the House of Commons. It is no House of Commons. Reckoning the male adults of the kingdom at *three* millions, not a two hundreth part of the people of the united kingdom are represented. It is an unconstitutional and most unjust representation of an aristocracy, who return their sons and servants. A legislative oligarchy completely controuling or bending to the executive power from the inability of their frail nature to resist the calls of their own individual interest.

One hundred and fifty persons forming the Borough faction, have the whole power in the state—they command a third of the House of Peers, and a majority of the House of Commons!

The following great opinions, I quote from Mr. Fawkes's pamphlet on Reform, recently published; a common cause, I hope, will justify this or any plagiarism I may have committed:

"We are told that danger would ensue from Re-
"form, because it has been made the cloak of turbu-
"lence and ambition. We ask, in our turn, what is
"the high descent of those parents of liberty and
"order, '*Influence* and *Virtual Representation?*' Are
"these *improvements* in the arts of government, to
"be traced to the generous councils of enlightened
"senates and patriot kings? Are they not rather
"the ignoble artifices which a fugitive tyrant trans-
"planted from a land of slaves, to corrupt that
"liberty which his father's fate, and his own ex-
"perience taught him, he could not openly subdue?

"Hear, however, what that great and good man,
"Lord Clarendon, that least exceptionable, perhaps,

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" of English ministers, says on this very subject;
" 'For he would not let the novel device of his con-
" temporaries to curb the free spirit of parliament
" descend to posterity unattended by his excul-
" pation.'"

I. He arraigns "The chief men of the court, because they took more pains to ingratiate themselves, than to advance the interest of their master. And, instead of pressing what was desirable upon the strength of *reason* and *policy*, as they *had used to do*, and by which the *major part* of the house had *usually concurred with them*—they now applied themselves with *address* to those who had always frowardly opposed whatever they thought would be grateful to the king; and desired rather to *buy* their *votes* and *concurrence*, by promises of *reward* and *preferment*, (which is the most *dishonourable* and *unthrifty brokery* that can be practised *in Parliament*, which, from this time, was *much practised*, and *brought* many *evil things to pass*,) than to prevail upon those *weighty* and *important arguments* which would *bear the light*."—See *the Life of Lord Clarendon, written by himself*, v. ii. p. 285, 8vo.

II. "Could we suppose" (says Sir William Temple) "a body politic, formed perfect at its first conception, or institution; yet it must fall into decays, not only from the force of accidents, but even from the very rust of time; and at certain periods, must be furbished up, or reduced to its first principles, by the appearance of *great virtues* or *severities*."—See the *Essay on Popular Discontents*, v. i. p. 251. fol.

III. "To destroy British liberty with an army of Britons," (says Lord Bolingbroke) "is not a measure so sure of success as some people may believe. To corrupt the parliament, is a slower, but might prove a more effectual method; and two or three hundred mercenaries

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in the two houses, if they could be listed there, would be more fatal to the Constitution than ten times as many thousands in red and blue out of them. *Parliaments* are the true guardians of *Liberty*—For this principally they were instituted—This is the " principal article of that great and noble trust, which the *collective* body of the people reposes in the *representative*. But then, no slavery can be so effectually fixed and brought upon us, as *parliamentary slavery*. By the corruption of parliament; and the absolute influence of a king, or his minister, or the two houses, we return into that state, to secure us from which parliaments were instituted, and are really governed by the arbitrary will of one man—our whole Constitution is at once dissolved. Many securities to liberty are provided; but, the *integrity* which depends on the *freedom* and independency of parliament, is the *keystone* which keeps all together. If this be shaken, our Constitution totters: if it be quite removed, our Constitution falls into ruin. That noble fabric, the pride of Britain, the envy of our neighbours, raised by the labour of so many centuries, repaired at the expence of so many millions, and cemented by such a profusion of blood: that noble fabric, I say, which was able to resist, I say, which was able to resist the united efforts of so many races of giants, may be demolished by a race of pigmies. The *integrity* of *Parliament* is a kind of *palladium*, a tutelary goddess that protects our state; when once she is removed, we may become the prey of any enemies."

IV. " There are men ready" (I know, says Lord Bolingbroke, again) " to tell us that the influence they plead for, is *necessary* to strengthen the hands of those who govern; that corruption serves to *oil* the wheels of government, and to render the administration *more smooth and easy!* Absurd and wicked triflers! Ac-

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cording to them, our Constitution is no better than a jumble of incompatable powers, which would seperate and fall to pieces of themselves, unless restrained and upheld by the honourable methods of *bribery* and *corruption*. They would prove that our Constitution is defective to a degree of ridiculousness; but the ridicule is all their own, as well as the iniquity."

"If there is a real deficiency of power in the Crown, it ought no doubt, to be supplied. The old whimsies of prerogative should not be renewed, but limitations ought to be taken off, or new powers given. The friends of liberty acknowledge, that a balance of the powers, divided among the three branches of the legislature, is essential to our Constitution, and necessary to support it. The friends of liberty, therefore, would concur, at least to a certain point, with the friends of the ministry; for the former are friends to order, and enemies to licence. For decency's sake, therefore, let the debate be put on the issue! Let it be such a debate as freemen may avow without blushing! To argue from this supposed deficiency of power in the Crown, in favour of a scheme of government repugnant to every law, human and divine, is such an instance of *abandoned* and *villainous prostitution* as the most corrupt age never saw."

V. Again, Lord Bolingbroke says "The design of the revolution was not accomplished; the benefit of it was not secured to us; the just expectations of the nation could not be answered, unless the *freedom* of elections, and the *frequency, integrity,* and *independency* of Parliaments, were sufficiently provided for. These are the *essentials* of *British liberty!* Defects in the other parts of the Consiitution never can be fatal, if these are preserved entire; but defects in these will soon destroy the Constitution, though every other part of it should be preserved. However it happened, (see the next para-

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graph,) *the truth* and *notoriety* of the fact oblige us to say, that these important conditions, without which, liberty can never be secure, were almost wholly neglected at the revolution. The *claim* of *right* declares indeed, 'That elections ought to be *free* and *frequent*;' but such declarations, however solemnly made, if they stand alone, are nothing better than *pompous trifles*, productive of *no good*, but productive *of ill*, as they serve to amuse mankind in points of the greatest importance, and wherein it concerns them most nearly, that they should neither be amused nor deceived."—See *Dissert. on Parties*, Let. XI.

VI. "And now it appeared, that forward as the Commons had been to declare the vacancy, they were not altogether so forward to fill it; a transfer of the crown, unaccompanied with any conditions in favour of the subject, in whose name, and for whose sake, it had been pretended that this great enterprise had been undertaken and accomplished, was what they were *ashamed to join in*. Partly, therefore, for decency's sake, it may be presumed, and partly to form the concerts usual on such critical occasions, they postponed the consideration of the Lord's message, and adjourned till the afternoon. This short interval, however, did not prove sufficient to complete those concerts; when, therefore, the House met again, they first business they went upon, was to receive the report of the committee appointed to draw up the *claims* and demands of the subject under the new settlement. This report was made by Sir George Treby, and, by order, was divided into *two branches*, *one declaratory* of *ancient rights*, and *one* introductory of NEW LAWS; all the *several* articles of which were *agreed to*—The Lord's vote for filling the Throne, was then taken into consideration, and gave rise to a warm, perplexed, and fruitless debate; for so many different notions were started, all were so tenaciously

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maintained, and most of them were so disagreeable to the new courtiery, that the question was put to adjourn, and carried without a division.

" This gave further time for *new management:* one of King James's prime advocates (see *Great Britain's Just Complaint*) is express, that the Prince sent Lord Wharton to several Lords, and *Mr. Coulin* to Seymour, Hambden, Boscawen, Powle, Swinfen, and other Commoners, to let them know, that if the House insisted so much on *limitations,* he would return again, and leave them to the mercy of King James.

" It is however certain, that when the House met again the next day, and resumed the debate, so much was said to shew the necessity of expediting the settlement, and so many members appeared to be of opinion that expedition was of more consequence than any thing else, that, upon the issue, it was resolved, " *That all such heads as were introductory of new laws should be omitted.* And that only *the Declaratory* should be connected with *the Instrument of Government,*" which was in effect *leaving the subject* as much at the *mercy* of the *Prerogative as before.*" See *Ralph's Hist. of England,* v. ii. p. 52.

VII. " I shall grant" (said Lord Carteret, in 1740) " that a perfect harmony between King and Parliament has always hitherto given weight to the king's counsels abroad; but from whence did this proceed? it proceeded from the Parliament speaking the language of the people; for if ever a Parliament speaking, by *corruption* or *other means* should begin to speak the *language* of *ministers* without regard to the *sentiments of the People,* a good harmony between King and Parliament will then have no authority at home; and consequently, can have no more effect abroad than a good harmony between the King and his Ministers, I was going to say his Footmen; for a minister who is hated by the people, is in a more

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precarious situation, and must be more dependent than any footman." See *Timberland*, vol. vii. p. 472.

VIII. "Whoever understands the theory of the English Constitution," (says Lord Chatham, Jan. 22, 1770) "and will compare it with the practice, must see at once how widely they differ.—We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country.—We must reduce our *political practice* as near as possible to our *political principles*.—The Constitution intended that there should be a *permanent relation between the Constituent and Representative body of the People*. Will any man affirm that that is now the fact, that that relation is preserved? My Lords, it is *not preserved*, it *is destroyed*." "*The corruption* of the People is the *great original cause* of the *discontents of the People themselves*, of the *enterprises* of the Crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the Constitution. For this great evil, some immediate remedy must be provided; and I confess, my Lords, I did hope, that his Majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse, without paying some attention to an object which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the Constitution, some impediment formed to stem the rapid progress of corruption.—I doubt not we all agree that something *must be done*. The *boroughs* of this country have properly enough been called the *rotten parts* of the Constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and, without entering into an invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation."—"It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities and counties, that the strength and vigour of the Constitution resides; and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever arise, will the Constitution be firmly and honestly defended. I would increase that strength, because I think it the only security

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we have against the *profligacy of the times*, the *corruption* of *the people*, and the *ambition of the Crown.*" See *Debrett*, vol. v. p. 154-5, 162, 177, 355, 389.

IX. " A borough, which perhaps no man ever saw;" (exclaimed this great man in another debate, Jan. 14, 1766,) " this is what it called *the rotten part of the Constitution.* It cannot *continue* a *century;* if it does not drop off it must be amputated." See *Debrett*, vol. iv. p. 291.

X. " I know not how it is," (said Lord Chatham) " there is a modesty in this house, which does not choose to contradict a minister. Even your chair, Sir, looks too often towards St. James's. I wish that gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body of the people may begin to abate of their respect for the *Representative.*" See *Debrett*, vol. iv. p. 296.

XI. " I wish the maxim of Machiavel," (" He who would alter a government, and set up for himself, must wait till time has corrupted the mass, and by degrees brought all into disorder, which of necessity must happen, when it is not purged and refined by the example of good men and good laws that may reduce it to its *first principles.*" *Machiavelli sopra Livio*, lib. 3. cap. 8.) " was followed, that of examining a Constitution at certain periods, according to its first principles; this would correct abuses and supply defects.—I wish the times would bear it, and that men's minds were cool enough to enter upon such a task, and that the Representative, (*body*) authority of this kingdom was more equally settled." See *Lord Camden's Speech—Debrett*, vol. iv. p. 365.

XII. " What, I confess, was uppermost in my mind," (said Mr. Burke, on submitting to the House of Commons his plan for the better security of the Independency of Parliament,) " what I bent the whole force of my mind to, was, the reduction of that CORRUPT INFLUENCE, which

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is itself the *perennial source* of *all disorder*, which *loads* us more than *millions of debt*, which takes away *all vigour from our arms—all authority* from our *government*—and all *wisdom* from our councils."

XIII. "The constitution of this country" (exclaimed Sir G. G. Saville) "puts me in mind of an ancient and stately tree near my house, which, though to all appearance green and flourishing without, is yet all rottenness and corruption within."

XIV. The Duke of Richmond affirmed, "That government was carried on solely by means of *bribery* and *corruption*—That all test of public conduct was laid aside, which depended upon freedom of thought, or freedom of acting. The *indiscriminate* support ministers received, to whatever measures they thought proper to propose, though ever so *ruinous* and *destructive*, furnished daily proofs of it—and nothing but the personal virtue of the Sovereign prevented this country from a total loss of liberty." See *Almon.* vol. vii. 12. 3.—x. 36-7.

XV. The Duke of Grafton contended, "The Parliament was led *blindfold*—they assented to every thing ministers proposed, they reposed an *unlimited* confidence in their assurances." See *Almon.* x. 17.—x. 28.

XVI. Lord Shelburne condemns, in the strongest language, "The *shameful subserviency of Parliament.*" See *Almon.* x. 291-2.

He declares. "That before this country or its Constitution is recovered, that *Corrupt House* must be new modelled. It is at present (An. 1778) the source of all *corruption* and *misfortunes:* and if all other means should fail, *the people will probably rise, and drag* their *corrupt* and *venal representatives* from their seats."

Soon after he calls them—"The servile followers of the Minister, ready to obey every mandate he thinks proper to issue; totally immersed in the *deepest and dirtiest ways of corruption, and* lost to every sense of *their*

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own duty, and Constitutional importance in the state." See *Almon.* x. 392, 394.

XVII. When to these authorities we add the celebrated motion of Mr. Dunning—"That the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." The prophetic exclamation of Lord Chatham, May, 1771, "That our whole constitution is giving way." The declaration of his son; The eloquent and luminous appeals of Lord Grey; and the solemn declaration of Mr. Fox, April, 1777, "That *Corruption* and *Patronage* had overspread the land—that the *King's name* was frequently *prostituted* by his ministers, and that majorities were found to support the *worst measures* with as *much alacrity* as the *best.*"

If, as Mr. Fawkes says, after all these warnings, no amendment is called for by the people, or effected by their rulers, what can the reflecting mind do, but ponder in silence upon the inevitable consequences of things; and in sorrow exclaim,

> "Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus
> Dardaniæ."———VIRGIL.

Yet there are some men of such consummate impudence, grown so grey and brazen in corruption, as openly to defend this system; and an *honourable gentleman* can be procured, to tell the House of Commons on a motion for reform, that he considers "Old Sarum an integral part of our glorious constitution." A rat always considers decayed cheese an integral part of a good dinner. And Sir W. C. *that wise and great man,* can stand before the Common Council, shaking his mouth like a man eating fire, with a blushing determination of blood to the head, and bluster, "In *my* conscience, I believe, the "House of Commons is as pure as it ever was, or

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" ever can be!" Yes, Sir W....., as long as you are in the House, you are enough of yourself to corrupt the whole body!

These rank assertions are not, however, the only mode in which they oppose our arguments. They ask us what we mean by REFORM, and retort, " some of you say one thing, some another." To this subterfuge I should always make answer. We all agree with Lord Erskine, that " The principle " of *Reform* is to equalize and simplify the elective " franchise—to make the body of electors too large " for individual corruption, and the period of choice " too short for temptation—and by the subdivision " of the places of elections, to bring the electors " together without confusion, and within every man's " reach." When we have answered this question, then they say, " But you cannot agree what quantity " of reform you want — some want annual, some " triennial parliaments; how can we tell what to give, " if you cannot tell what to ask for." Now these anti-reformists well know *some* reform is wanted; it is for them to tell us how much is good for us; do they not complain that we and the Catholics continually insult them by dictating arbitrary terms? Why then insist on our prescribing what they will not attend to? When this question is again asked, take the advice of Sir Robert Wilson.

" We are not bound to propose any specific plan " of reform: we have a right to say to the parliament, " ' Constitute yourselves the Grand Jury of England " to try the question, Whether the people are con- " stitutionally represented or not—if not, if you find " a true bill against the present system, then consult " the Statutes of the realm, constitutional usages,

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" and enlightened integrity, for the details of im-
" provement ?' Let not disunion be created amongst
" you, by premature and unseasonable discussions ;
" answer your interrogators when they press you to
" state the extent to which you propose to carry
" economy, retrenchment, and REFORM, that you
" will have it to the extent your necessities require,
" the constitution justifies, and wisdom approves."

They then ask you, what good a reform to the extent of our most sanguine wishes would produce. They ask us whether it would pay off the National Debt, and a multitude of other questions equally acute. This is the important question.

On the good that would result from a Reform in the representation of the British People, and how we should be relieved of our oppressive difficulties and burthens.

REFORM, that is, a genuine House of Commons composed of members representing *every* commoner in Great Britain and Ireland, whom a committee of wise and honourable men shall think entitled to a suffrage,—such a representation of the British people would prevent war, and crime, and bankruptcy. They would prevent a public bankruptcy, without in the least committing a breach of the public faith : they would equalize taxation and the levies in support of the State, the Poor, and the Church, which would then render the burden less oppressive, and more

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cheerfully endured; for when one man is not worse situated than his neighbour, he could have much less reason to repine or cavil. A reformed House of Commons would prevent any future needless war, by refusing supplies for its conduct: and before touching a farthing of the public funds, they would surely find some patriots generous enough to govern without emolument or pay. Our honour is pledged to the payment of the *whole* interest on our National Debt, and as long as we are able it is our sacred duty to perform it: necessity alone can justify a voluntary bankruptcy; and no man, who has at all reflected on its probable consequences, would ever for a moment run the risk of such a fatal catastrophe. The present evils would be lightened *by recalling our soldiers in France —by disbanding an expensive and unconstitutional standing army—by abolishing all useless places and pensions—by curtailing the expenses of the Court and Civil List—by reducing the number and stipends of government offices—by lowering many enormous taxes and duties, and doubling thereby consumption—by cultivating a proper intercourse and mutual interest with North and South America, where may be found a permanent trade, surpassing all the forced commerce we have ever carried on—by encouraging freedom, in taking the part of the people against their arbitrary rulers, instead of supporting the kings against their oppressed subjects—by meriting their gratitude and respect instead of incurring their hatred—by destroying all private and public monopolies, and encouraging free trade—In fact, by carrying economy and retrenchment to the greatest possible extent, by diminishing the enormous quantity of paper money—by obliging the Bank of England to pay their notes in*

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specie, or else to settle their affairs and divide their assets, and totally to destroy its connexion with government—by revising the Poor Laws; by revising the forms of law, and a most sanguinary penal code; by radically reforming all abuses, and by shewing the people that their interest is the sole object of their government; by the supreme magistrate and the higher orders setting a strict MORAL *example in their private conduct, and discouraging immorality, whether in a man of splendid genius or powerful interest; by reducing our expenditure so much within the income as to afford a large surplus for a sinking fund!* There is nothing wicked or visionary in this plan; it is perfectly practicable, and I am confident it would be effected by a reform. This can alone preserve us from future foreign and civil wars; this alone can save us from utter ruin. But if we still adhere to the old European families, we shall always be involved in war and misery; we shall always meet with ingratitude, and finally be lost in the gulf of bankruptcy. 'Tis true the system is at present carried on, but so was the 'squire's, as long as he could treat his friends.

> Deligitur nemo, nisi cui fortuna secunda est,
> Quæ simul intonuit, proxima quæque fugat.—OVID.
>
> When smiling fortune spreads her golden ray,
> All crowd around to flatter and obey:
> But when she thunders from an angry sky,
> Our friends, our flatterers, our lovers fly.

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On the details of Reform, and an inquiry who are the real innovators.

I shall not now enter into the arguments in favour of this or that particular extent of suffrage. On these points the works of Mr. Fawkes and Mr. Evans, and that of the truly venerable and illustrious philosopher, Jeremy Bentham,* have sufficiently treated. For that noble philanthropist every reflecting man must feel the highest reverence and gratitude; he is one of those grand characters who once in a century appear to the destruction of those heaps of prejudices which are constantly accumulating. His labours have introduced a new era in legislation, when legislators will begin to give that attention to the *prevention* of crime they have hitherto so ill bestowed on its cruel and impolitic punishment. His character and works are far more justly appreciated on the Continent and in America, than in his native land; but the praise of men is not what this patriot covets; unconnected with party, he has no motives in his generous endeavours, but the moral and intellectual advancement of human nature, and the amelioration of the miseries of his fellow creatures. Posterity will do that justice to his high-minded talents and exertions his cotemporaries

* Since writing this, I have again read Mr. Bentham's work on Reform, and am quite converted to the doctrine of annual parliaments. I shall endeavour to give a concise analysis of its arguments in the appendix, and only regret that time will not permit me to do that justice to the work I could have wished.

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may have denied him; and the name of JEREMY BENTHAM will live in the grateful memory of after ages—a more lasting and real honour than the most splendid monument in the king's abbey of Westminster.

No one acquainted with the history of the country will affirm, that universal suffrage was ever its ancient constitution; for we all know that the great bulk of the people were "*villeins*," and in far more abject slavery than at present. But universal suffrage, *co-extensive with taxation*, was the old constitution, in as much as the law of England insures every man paying direct taxes, a suffrage for a representative to parliament; therefore, if ministers wish to curtail the extent of representation, let them curtail taxation. Most extraordinary would it appear, if an individual had no command over the income his own industry had acquired. No one should I think be deprived of this natural right, except from mental defect, vice, or perhaps inability to read and write: this latter exclusion I should be induced to enact, from an observation of Montesquieu, who somewhere says, "Ignorance and despotism are the causes of nearly all the vice and misery in the world." Now, as education aims at the destruction of both these lamentable causes, I am sure *divine right* and *blood* must bend to virtue and intellect.

With regard to the duration of Parliaments, I think it would be well for the cause, did not the most vehement writers and reformers so pertinaciously prescribe this or that particular time. I know that annually chosen Parliaments were the CUSTOM of our ancestors, except when violated in the reign of bad kings; and custom, or the *lex non scripta* in those

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days, was the supreme law, *Magna Charta* itself being little more than a recital of customs, and, as Sir E. Coke observes, "*for the most part, declaratory of the* COMMON *law of the land.*" But some deference is due to the many eminent characters who have thought otherwise on this important subject, although I believe it has generally arisen from their not having bestowed proper attention on the point. And we should remember, that the strongest constitutions will not always bear a sudden change from one excess to another. A prudent physician prescribing an alteration in diet, advises his patient to effect it gradually: and nothing is more foolish in this and other questions than the obstinate rejection of all reform, if we cannot get a total one; for why, because we cannot do all the good we wish, should we do none at all? But in this instance the ancient custom of the country is nothing to the purpose; it is the Pittites who are bigoted to their great grandfathers' creed. The question is, what is *now* just and most advisable. For, granting the old constitution of the realm did not enjoy this reform, the natural rights of men boldly demand some reformation: the perilous state of the times imperiously calls for it: the immense expenditure and increased executive influence render it absolutely necessary, if we mean to save anything from the total wreck of liberty, that a counterbalancing power should jealously watch the appropriation of the public monies, and utterly destroy the flagrant usurpation of an oligarchy.*

* That there was a period when the House of Commons had some influence, and had the welfare of the people at heart, is recorded in the following noble speech of Queen Elizabeth, in the

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I shall not, however, quit this part of the subject, without avowing what is my own insignificant opinion as to the proper duration of Parliament, from an attentive study of all that has been written on this part of the subject. I have always gloried in the tenure of whig *principles*—they were the principles of CHARLES JAMES FOX; and whig principles placed the present august family on the British throne. How much is to be regretted, that subsequent kings should have lost sight of this fact. Though I am a whig in principle, I am not a whig in party. I adore the very name of Mr. Fox, but he is not without blemish. Why did Mr. Fox make Lord

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fortieth year of her reign. The house had some time previous petitioned her on many grievous abuses and monopolies, which that great queen instantly rectified. The House of Commons, struck with her prompt attention to the interests of the country, deputed one hundred and forty of their members to wait upon her with thanks. The queen's answer made the deepest impression on her subjects.

"Gentlemen,—I owe you hearty thanks and commendations "for your singular good will towards me, not only in your heart "and thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and de- "clared, whereby you have recalled me from an error proceeding "from my ignorance, not my will. These things had undeserved- "ly turned to my disgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear than "the safety and love of my people) had not such harpies and "horse-leeches as these been discovered to me by you. I had "rather my heart or hand should perish, than that either my heart "or hand should allow such privileges to monopolists, as may be "prejudicial to my people. The splendour of regal majesty hath "not so blinded mine eyes, that licentious power should prevail "with me more than justice. *I know that the commonwealth is "to be governed for the good and advantage of those that are com- "mitted to me, not of myself, to whom it is entrusted, that an "account is one day to be given before another judgment seat.* "I think myself most happy, that, by God's assistance, I have "hitherto so prosperously governed the commonwealth in all "respects; and that I have such subjects, as for their good I "would willingly leave both my kingdom and my life."

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Grenville auditor of his own accounts, with an enormous sinecure? He never could have supported such a measure, had their been no borough faction; and I much regret this stain on his public character was incurred in the interest of a man, who has on all occasions opposed all reform; who has invariably supported the cause of war, but who, possessing a little more sentimentality than his real friends the Tories, is perhaps improperly regarded with less disapproval. He may be a *sincere* man, but you now see him in his true character, aiding and abetting the destruction of his country's liberties; deserting the people when they most need his vigorous assistance; retaining all his sinecures and pensions, with his fellow-creatures famishing around him! *Ecce homo!*

I charge the Whigs with having become lukewarm in a cause which *they* themselves first brought forward, and excited the attention of the country to. It was the "friends of the people" who created a call for reform, which has increased ever since; and it is they who have of late deserted the creature of their own creation, and frequently accused the people of wild and even factious intentions. Now to a Whig, I superinduce the character of a reformer; and I am become a decided convert to ANNUAL Parliaments. Two years since I thought the reformists were wild and factious, because I knew nothing of their principles or arguments; but I now think that annual parliaments alone can restore the ancient vigour and purity of the constitution, and alone reclaim all ranks to morality and happiness. I can here only quote a few of the arguments.

"Swift, who was as well qualified as any man to "understand the Statutes," (recited in Mr. Fawkes's

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pamphlet) " of E. III. and to judge of *triennial par-*
" *liaments*, for he was contemporary with them from
" first to last, not only construed those statutes as
" the reformers do, but held *annual* parliaments al-
" most in religious veneration. ' I adore' said he,
" ' the wisdom of that Gothic institution which made
" parliaments ANNUAL. And I am confident, our
" liberty can never be placed on a firm foundation,
" till that Ancient Law,' is restored among us."

Mr. Fawkes says, " If a parliament have conti-
" nuance for MORE than ONE YEAR, then all
" those who, since the last preceding election, have
" attained the legal age, though they are admitted
" to the full enjoyment of their PROPERTY, are
" yet denied the exercise of that ELECTIVE
" FRANCHISE, that most valuable legacy of their
" fathers—that sacred right—that privilege, upon
" which the SECURITY of their PROPERTY and
" PERSONAL LIBERTY entirely depends !

And with reference to expediency—" It has been found
" expedient to regulate all human concerns, public,
" as well as private—annually to legislate—annual-
" ly to tax—annually to settle accounts—and we
" know such is the magnitude of the public business,
" that a considerable portion of each year is now
" required for the labours of legislation—Hence we
" are taught, that to be provided against all contin-
" gents, the duration of parliaments ought to be
" annual; but at the same time, our common sense
" points out to us, that without any use, there might
" be great danger were they of longer continuance.
" If the representative continue *faithful*, he might
" and naturally would be repeatedly re-elected; if
" he became unfaithful, surely it were a monstrous
" doctrine to maintain, that he should nevertheless

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" continue to represent a community he had *betrayed*.
" So far, therefore, as expediency is concerned, it
" is clearly against any but Annual Parliaments."
See also Mr. Bentham on Reform.

Thus much I have thought it right to say on my own individual opinion. I know it is unpopular with the powers that be, and I know it is *only* the opinion of the multitude, but nevertheless it is consistent with justice towards the weaker side, *i. e.* the people, that I should state my own real view of the question. I should however hail the day which shall restore our violated constitution as it existed at the accession of William the Third, but I am certain that if the Whigs or the most temperate of the Tories would read and examine the arguments of the "visionary reformers," they would plainly see how the vision would be realized. Our publications however are insulted as incentives to revolution and vice; and an anti-reformer would no more defile his eyes by reading them, than a Christian would think of studying the Koran or the scepticisms of Voltaire. The most violent prejudice has hermetically sealed their eyes; may they recover before a severe and dangerous operation be performed—I much doubt whether they ever will! If any thing fatal should occur, may they suffer for their perverse blindness to the truth. Before closing the subject, I must express my surprise that a member of the honourable house, whom I shall not name, has thought proper in the early part of the last session to join in this persecuting hue and cry; it is especially unaccountable, from that honourable gentleman himself having defended those stigmatized doctrines *out* of the house; how then could he be so inconsistent as to defame them in parliament,—or

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did he not properly define against whom his strictures were levelled? Perhaps they might only be aimed at those vehement speech-makers who, by their obtrusive and low-lived orations on every occasion, have disgusted all parties. I cannot however acquit this gentleman of some little tergiversation: in what it originated I cannot presume to state, whether from fright, or whether from annual parliaments being incompatable with a future administration in which the honourable member has a sanguine expectancy. He had pledged himself to explain, as he well knew the suspicion he had justly incurred, but to the surprize of both friends and foes he never redeemed that pledge, though he has had many opportunities. But having the greatest respect for his general political character, knowing that the country are deeply obliged for his powerful services on many great questions, and believing him to be a man of integrity, rarely to be detected in the tribe to which he belongs, so celebrated for taking retaining fees;—and considering that we are especially indebted to him for the discontinuance of the property tax, to effect which he gave up his own professional emoluments, and knowing that he might sell himself without being unfashionable, I shall pass over this peccadillo as a venial offence. I consider the honourable gentleman as rather conscience stricken; rather like a sheep who has strayed from the fold, and knows not how to return again; but I think I may say in the name of all my brethren, that we shall heartily assist and welcome his junction, and shall thank him for favours past and to come; regretting at the same time the fact of our separation.

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What is Innovation and who are the reprehensible Innovators.

As to innovation—or, in our language, alteration and restoration—it is in the high Pittite party in those persons who are driven down to the ..... as a huntsman drives a kennel of coupled hounds to cover,—it is in these persons you observe a weak subserviency to old and rotten customs; and it is in them you practically experience the danger of Innovation—a word used by his Majesty's Ministers when they desire to shake the nerves of the alarmists into speedy acquiescence, or whenever they wish to eject a didactic ode on the "glorious constitution," or to persuade the Boroughmongers we shall *all* of us some morning get up with our throats cut! It is in them you perceive the danger of devotion to useless and antiquated usages, in opposing all reform of abuses, in preventing any amelioration of a most unjust and impolitic penal code, in opposing all attempts to renovate or improve; and as Mr. Brougham eloquently expressed it, "as affording a daily specimen of a system that refuses to vary with human circumstances; that will not accommodate itself to the progress and changes of times and seasons, but keeps rigorously to what was once important, though now inapplicable, as if time were standing still, and the events of history had no distinctive character." It is in the Prince Regent's ministers you observe the danger of innovation; they are the men who have persuaded an oligarchy to engage in the late savage and profligate wars, as indispensible to the preserva-

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tion of your liberties and property, which, alas, have almost totally vanished;—it was they who restricted the Bank of England from paying their notes in specie, as the law of the land had bound that private company to perform on presentation;—it was they who obliged you to receive these notes, under the confident assurance that the Restriction Bill would be speedily repealed, and what I confidently assure you will *never virtually* be repealed by them;—it was they who persuaded an oligarchy to submit to unprecedented and inquisitorial war taxes, under the most solemn protestation that they should terminate with the war—taxes, which in the third year of peace are still preying on our vitals;—it was these ministers who pledged their word that the property tax should be no more heard of six months after the proclamation of peace; and it was these identical men of honor who proposed its revival the very first year of peace; who were defeated in the attempt, but who will infallibly propose it next year, and as certainly obtain it from a corrupt House of Commons, unless you all resolutely but constitutionally petition to prevent them.* In the usual silkiness of their tongue, they will assure you it is only giving up a small part to preserve the larger remainder; but if the oligarchy are again gulled by such sophistical nonsense, they

* This tax has extracted from your pockets near one hundred and fifty millions sterling! It might be made a very equal tax, and may *get at* property which would otherwise escape the penetrating rapacity of the collector, but it is the *principle* I abhor, it is the odious and detestable inquisition and scrutiny into individual circumstances which renders it so galling.—And its nature and the state of the representation enable the minister so easily to increase the per-centage, and gratify the rage for war and military government.

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deserve that condign punishment war and bankruptcy will inevitably bring upon them. It was these same ministers who suspended those noble laws our ancestors had bequeathed us as the only security for our personal liberty; they were suspended till the expiration of the last session of parliament, "with the greatest reluctance, and in the confident expectation of the same painful necessity not again incurring," but, like the precedent of the Bank Restriction Bill, they were again suspended till the ensuing first of March; and I really believe the same "painful necessity" will continue *ad infinitum*, or, till the boroughmongering faction is destroyed! Oh! *****. *All* suspensions of those sacred laws are indefensible and most unconstitutional — they never should be repealed; nor would they ever, was there a reform of the representation, since the minority would never want to controul the majority. It is the minority who dread the power of their indignant fellow countrymen; and I verily believe without the suspension of these acts, the oligarchy could not exist twelve months. And what was the immediate pretence for this ..... of our liberties? A pretended attempt on the life of his Royal Highness the Regent: an attempt the borough faction well knew was never even contemplated, and which his Royal Highness *now* knows was never made. Would that that illustrious personage (whom, as a *chief magistrate*, the laws forbid us to insult, and bind us to respect and obey,) were told, that if he is unpopular, the greatest cause arises from the general hatred of his ministers.*

* "A King must make religion the rule of government, and "not to balance the scale; for he that casteth in religion only to "make the scales even, his own weight is contained in those cha-

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These shameless measures and their insolent contempt of all our remonstrances, have incurred universal detestation; so no wonder they oppose universal suffrage. At the same time that I so indignantly reprobate their violent and unconstitutional conduct, I earnestly conjure you not to imitate them, but to respect the exhortation of one of your stoutest and distinguished advocates, "that Reform has but one "serious enemy to dread; all other foes must, sooner "or later, fall before the expression of the public will, "provided it be urged with sincerity and temper;

"racters, 'Mene mene, tekel, upharsin;' 'He is found too light, "his kingdom shall be taken from him.' He is the fountain of "honours, which should not run with a waste pipe, lest the "Courtiers sell the water, and then (as Papists say of their holy "wells) it loses the virtue. A wise King must do less in altering "his laws than he may; for new governments is ever dangerous; "it being true in the body politic, as in the corporal, that 'every "sudden change is hazardous:' and though it be for the better, "yet it is not without a fearful apprehension; for he that changeth "the fundamental laws of a kingdom thinketh there is no good "title to a crown but by conquest. Bounty and magnificence are "virtues very regal, but a prodigal king is nearer a tyrant than a "parsimonious. His greatest enemies are his flatterers; for "though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make "against him. The love which a king oweth to a weal public "should not be restrained to any one particular; yet that his "more special favour dō reflect upon some worthy ones is some-"what necessary, because there are few of that capacity. He "must have an especial care of five things, if he would not have "his crown, 'an unhappy felicity:' *First*, that 'pretended sanc-"tity' be not in the Church; for that is a 'twofold iniquity;' "*Secondly*, that 'unprofitable equity' sit not in the chancery: "for that is 'absurd pity:' *Thirdly*, that 'profitable iniquity,' "keep not the exchequer; for that is 'cruel robbery.' *Fourthly*, "that 'faithful rashness,' be not his general; for that will bring "but 'too late repentance.' *Fifthly*, that 'unfaithful prudence,' "be not his secretary; for that is 'a snake under the green "grass.' To conclude; as he is of the greatest power, so he is "subject to the greatest cares, **MADE THE SERVANT OF "HIS PEOPLE**, or else he were without a calling at all."—

Lord Bacon of Kings.

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" but she cannot survive the intemperance of her " own friends. Act then like men associated into " the greatest of all causes, and firmly resolve to " resort to no other arguments, in the great con- " stitutional struggle which appears to be approach- " ing, than those with which you sincerely believe " you have been furnished by *reason and truth.*"

But to return to innovations. This hypocritical horror of innovation would perpetuate every enormity that could plead the sanction of age. It has been ably retorted on the corruptionists, whether our partial emancipation from the feudal system—whether the *reformation* in *religion* in the 16th. century—whether our glorious *revolution* of 1688, and whether the acts of union with Scotland and Ireland were not great *innovations?* And whether still greater innovations have not taken place with the *representation*—whether some Irish towns who *had sent members to Parliament*, were not actually *forbidden* to send any more, and severe penalties imposed on those persons who should *presume* to take part in an election in such places? Has not innovation been openly avowed? Did not Lord Dorset, in the debate of the Septennial Act, (that tomb-stone of remaining freedom) when he supported that measure, avow, " That the Triennial Act was *a new law*, and an *alteration of the old constitution!*" And Lord Trevor, who opposed it, said, " That he looked upon the Triennial Act as a part of the ancient constitution, according to which, *frequent* and even *annual Parliaments* were held." — See Tindal's History, vol. iv. p. 491.

Why then upbraid us with a charge of Innovation? The few alterations we have ever been able to super-

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induce, have now and then a little renovated it. But who have been gradually sapping its foundations? Who have been constantly plotting its downfall? With all our vigilant watching, who has succeeded in committing a .... on our once glorious constitution? What is routing up obsolete and superannuated Acts of Parliament? What is forging new and unheard of interpretations,—what is the "*modern construction*" *cum notis variorum*, but subversion and innovation? There is nothing more common in a cunning and hardened rogue when he is pursued, then to set up a cry of "stop thief!"* I have somewhere remarked in the American constitution a power which enables its legislature to alter and amend whatever is needful every ten years, provided it be with the consent of a certain majority of the representatives. This will ever be a most powerful means of preserving that pre-eminent wisdom which has hitherto characterized the government of the United States.

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* "Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not "apply new remedies, must expect new evils; for time is the "greatest innovator: and if time of course alter things to the "worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, "what shall be the end? All this is true, &c. if time stood still; "which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward retention "of custom, is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they "that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. "It were good therefore, that men in their innovations would "follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for "otherwise whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends "some, and impairs others: and he that is holpen takes it for a "fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, "and imputeth it to the author."

Lord Bacon on Innovations.

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On the Obstructions and Enemies to Reform, and on the connexion between Politics and Religion.

I solemnly warn you against intestine divisions, and conjure you all to unite in determined opposition to this abominable system; and particularly beware of the machinations and snares of spies, and never even think of resorting to physical force. Your enemies wish to have it believed we are exciting you to revolt, as an excuse for unconstitutional measures. Do not let your attention or unanimity be distracted by religious cavils; I know this is one great attempt of your opponents. God forbid I should attack the old constitution either in Church or State; but I earnestly pray you not to be made the tools of a theological civil war. The most fanatic ultra orthodoxy has been preached the last few years, and with such furious zeal, that many sincere persons have become its unfortunate victims: its antichristian intolerance has poisoned the benevolent feelings of its followers, and proscribed every man who differs from its dogmas, as unworthy of trust in this world, and doomed to eternal misery in a future. Blasphemous intolerance! horrible perversion of that revelation which Christ delivered, to the end that ALL men might be saved, and that all men might think and act charitably towards one another! The most wilful neglect of his last noble precept, "a new commandment I give unto ye, that ye love one another as ye love yourselves." If one perfection more than another is peculiar to our religion, it is that charity and humility which Our Saviour so studiously inculcated on all occasions, and of which he was himself the most perfect example.

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Who of modern days shall so arrogantly dare to define what are the minor doctrines of the Bible, and what most conducive to our future happiness, when the wisest and best men of all ages and countries, with equal natural and acquired advantages, have so diametrically differed?—When the stupendous understandings of the early professors—when Luther, Jerome, Calvin, Zwingle, Wickliffe, Bacon, Newton, Boyle, Locke, Socinus, Stillingfleet, Law, Horseley, Priestley, Lardner, Paley, Machialis, Price, Eichorn, and other justly celebrated theologians, have been so much at variance, what parish clerk or dissenting preacher presumes to set himself up an exclusive expounder of those doctrines on which the apostles themselves it would appear were neither agreed or perfectly acquainted? This hateful intolerance is also at total variance with the first principles of the Church of England, which in its original constitution is the most tolerant and dignified ever constituted. "Your reason is mortified by the difficulties you find in comprehending the nature of "Christ. Be satisfied. The angels find the same "difficulty, and 'desire to look into it' 'in vain.' "Content yourself with reverencing that mysterious "nature, without attempting to expound in what "manner it was human or in what manner it was "divine. Remember how he hath himself declared "our utter incapacity for comprehending that which "human wisdom hath invented so many curious "phrases to explain. 'NO MAN KNOWETH "WHO THE SON IS, BUT THE FATHER.' "Hear him speak his own brief history, and let that "suffice. 'I come forth from the Father, and am "come into the world.' Again: 'I leave the world,

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"and go to the Father.'" Such was lately the exhortation of an established clergyman, who, far away 'from the pomp of cities and the pride of courts,' lives retired in his country parsonage. Conscious of superior talent, yet his lofty integrity scorns to prostitute his character or conscience, although a mitre should reward his apostacy. The enlightened friend of civil and religious liberty all over the world, he would spurn the sacrifice of his principles to temporal interest.

Do not prostrate your understandings to the belief of Church and State being necessarily connected for the existence of both, as some would have you believe. I see the necessity of a National Church in the present times; and, much as I detest creeds and articles, I revere the forms and services of the Church of England too greatly to desire its downfal, if it maintains its genuine principle. All I desire is, to prevent this innovating heresy from exciting sect against sect, or getting up a No-Popery war-whoop. For I would have you know, that every human being has an inherent right to worship the Great First Cause and his revelations, as most suits his conscience; and any particular mode should not curtail his eligibility to civil rights. Do not be misled by orthodox harangues addressed to your passions: let your reason operate, and reflect that opposition invariably strengthens and animates the persecuted; and, consequently, that not justice only, but policy, demand the complete emancipation of Catholics and ALL other dissenters from those unjust restrictions on their natural rights imposed by the Test and Corporation Acts in times of bigotry and gross superstition. The immortal Locke, in his work on To-

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leration, says, "No private person has any right, in "any manner, to prejudice another person in his "civil enjoyments, because he is of another church "or religion. All the rights and franchises that "belong to him as a man, or as a denison, are in- "violably to be preserved to him. These are not "the business of religion. No violence or injury is "to be offered him whether he be Christian or Pagan. "Nay, we must not content ourselves with the nar- "row measures of bare justice: charity, bounty, "and liberality must be added to it. This the Gos- "pel enjoins, this reason directs, and this that na- "tural fellowship we are born into requires of us. "If any man err from the right way, it is his own "misfortune, no injury to thee: nor therefore art "thou to punish him in the things of this life, be- "cause thou supposest he will be miserable in that "which is to come."

That partaking of the Holy Sacrament should be the test of eligibility to worldly profit, I cannot regard without horror. That the type of fellowship and christian agreement should be the instrument of persecution and evil passions, is surely a most abandoned profanation of a religious institution—an institution, which certainly never was intended for the attainment and propagation of any selfish purposes, or for the encouragement of hypocrisy and deceit. And it has been well observed, that by the duties of his functions, by the positive precepts of his religion, and by the rubrick or canons of the Church, the minister is enjoined to warn from the sacred table all blasphemers of God, all slanderers of his word, all adulterers, and all persons of a profligate life; and yet to these very persons, if they demand it as a

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qualification for a place, a pension, or a sinecure, he is compelled by the Test Acts to administer the Sacrament; and, if he refuses, a ruinous prosecution for damages is the obvious and inexitable consequence!

Arguments without end have been adduced in proof of toleration. "Every man has an undoubted "right to judge for himself in matters of religion; "nor should any mark of infamy, or any civil penalty, be attached to the exercise of his right. Every "man has a right to the common privileges of the "society in which he lives; and, among these common privileges, a capacity in law for serving his "sovereign and country, is one of the most valuable, distinguishing a *legal capacity* of service "from a *right* to an actual appointment, which depends upon the choice of his sovereign, or of his "fellow citizens; and this capacity of serving the "state is a right of such high estimation, and of such "transcendant value, that exclusion from it is "deemed a proper punishment for some of the "greatest crimes. Actions, and not opinions, political or religious, are the proper objects of human "authority and cognizance. No man, who does not "forfeit that *capacity* of serving his sovereign and "country, which is his natural right, as well as the "honour and emoluments that may happen to be "connected with it, by overt acts, ought to be deprived of them, and disabilities that are not thus "incurred are unjust penalties, implying both disgrace and privation. Punishment, without the "previous proof of guilt, cannot be denied to be an "injury; and injuries inflicted on account of religion "are undoubtedly persecutions. The ends of civil

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"society can never justify any abridgement of na-
"tural rights that is not essential to these ends.
"The institutions of religion, and the ordinances of
"civil government, are distinct in their origin and
"their objects, in the sanctions that enforce them,
"and the mode in which they are administered. The
"institution of the Lord's Supper being wholly of a
"religious nature, and appointed merely as a me-
"morial of his death, is improperly applied to the
"secular ends of civil society; and if it be so ap-
"plied, it is not only an improper, but in many cases
"an insufficient test of the principles and characters
"of those to whom it is administered."

I have introduced the subject of religion because it is in this case intimately connected with politics. Not for the purpose of attacking the Church of England, but certainly to upbraid the majority of its Teachers with having supported and *preached* Pittite politics. They have occupied the foremost ranks in the ministerial phalanx—they have authorized and encouraged persecution,—they have in short disgraced their sacred character by openly defending wars and intolerance. Why, is very readily to be shewn. The Boroughmongers, the Crown, and the Lord Chancellor being in possession of the most valuable church preferment, and requiring a great number of domestic chaplains. This is the plain straight forward fact, and however ill relished the attack may be, though I should be cited before the Ecclesiastical Court, and have to perform penance in a white sheet, and with a plate on my head,—and though I should be prosecuted for a blasphemous libel, and driven from my native country, yet such is the fact, and I will on all occasions let it be known, that the greater

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part of the clergymen of this kingdom have mainly supported a system full of impiety, vice, and misery!! They have sometimes occupied three fourths of the signatures to the most violent addresses, promoting wars and civil disputes. With the exception of Derbyshire they compose a very considerable part of every county magistracy in England—a civil office from which they should be TOTALLY EXCLUDED, as most unconstitutional, and most contrary to their calling in life. This union of the civil and ecclesiastical office is a most dangerous innovation, dangerous to the State, and dangerous to the Church. They have encouraged the bloody and impoverishing wars of Mr. Pitt, who occupied in their hearts that situation their Holy Master should have done. They have placed their sons in the army and navy contrary to those express injunctions which our Saviour delivered in his divine sermon, and which have such a direct tendency to prohibit discord, and to promote peace and love to mankind. "Ye have heard that it hath been "said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; "but I say unto you, that *ye resist not evil;* but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to "him the other also." "Ye have heard that it "hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour and "hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, *love your "enemies,* bless them that curse you, do good to "them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may "be the children of your Father which is in Heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the just and "on the unjust." "Blessed are the peace-makers, "for they shall be called the children of God." "If "ye forgive men their trespasses, your Heavenly

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" Father will also forgive you ; but if ye forgive not " men their trespasses, neither will your Father " forgive your trespasses."

And if they are at all versed in ecclesiastical history, they will find from the writings of the early Christian Fathers, that the custom of entering into the army was unknown amongst real converts to the religion of Christ, until the third century, when corruptions began to creep into the church. If they take down the dusty volumes of Justyn Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, or any writer of acknowledged credit in those ages they will find it was unlawful for Christians to go to war. We are told of the sufferings of some of the followers of Christ on this account ; and that they even suffered death rather than take arms.* It is also upon record that several quitted the army, and amongst them men of high rank, upon believing that war was incompatable with the new religion which they professed. Thus we find that our Saviour's peaceable injunctions were interpreted by the early Christiens as prohibitory of ALL discord and war, and of all encouragement of evil. And we further learn that *those* christians acted up to the strict letter and spirit of those injunctions—possessing " such regard " for veracity that they never denied their religious " belief, although death was the consequence ; that " they loved each other as brethren, and distinguish- " ed one another by that appellation ; that they were " kind and courteous to others, that they abstained " from *all kinds of violence*, that they were patterns " of humility, charity, and patience ; and that they

* See Mr. Clarkson's Pamphlet.

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" prayed for those who persecuted them. Such " appear to have been the effects of the influence of " the Holy Spirit on the minds of Christians; soft- " ening their former unruly passions, and bringing " them under the government of Christ's peaceable " kingdom. In the third century, there were some " who, though they professed christianity, yet took " up arms; but these incurred the reproofs of their " brethren, and were admonished to forbear. In the " fourth century, we have accounts of Christians " going to war, but what a contrast does history ex- " hibit of their general character at this period, " when compared with that given of them in the for- " mer centuries. They began now to be envious, " quarrelsome, and to falsify their word. Some " even assisted in the heathen sacrifices, and many " Pagan ceremonies and superstitions were brought " back into their religion." But here and there we still find an ancient father of the church upholding the peaceable tenets of christianity, and declaring that ALL wars were utterly indefensible, in obedience to Christ's commandment,—"Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Far is it from my intention to weaken the influence which the dignitaries and ministers of the Christian Church ought to enjoy with the people. No, I am the real friend to the church—the object of these remarks is far otherwise, I wish to see them respected and beloved, I wish to see their stipends increased, that they may take that station in life their education and sacred profession justly entitles them to expect. There wants a thorough revision of all laws, affecting tithes and church property, and if there are not those

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in the house capable of effecting it, there are out of the house, and I would much rather have them derive their income by a voluntary contribution of the congregation, than be dependant on the borough patrons. And since they must be indebted to some one for their preferment, it should be to the many and not to the few.*

I am not going to revile all learned institutions, or to cry down literature and science, but as long as the intolerant exclusion of dissenters from our public Universities in England continues, so long will ignorance and bigotry disgrace our country.

In the case of the Catholics this exclusion is a most glaring usurpation—that the posterity of those noble families who founded and endowed these colleges, and whose laws still regulate them, should be excluded from their benefits, is an injustice so monstrous, as to excite the greatest indignation. Surely, if the members of the English Church have such a fear of Catholic pollution, let them surrender up and restore them their property, and let the Protestants go and endow universities with their own. Here is the inconsistency of a government supporting two establishments—that of England and Scotland: they tolerate that of Scotland, much more dangerous to its own principles than the Popish Church, because it openly attacks the very ground-work of ecclesiastical government. This bigoted exclusion will always be a hot-bed of intolerance and contention, and will always operate against the true interests of religion. It prevents the association of different sects and parties,

* The Clergy altogether receive, according to Mr. Arthur Young's calculation, more than *five millions* of pounds a year in England and Wales only; and there are, it is said, but about *fifteen thousand* of them!

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which by the collision of opinions always elicits truth; it drives the dissenters to establish their own narrow and illiterate institutions; all parties are brought up in a sort of innate hatred and jealousy of each other, and the prejudices of birth and circumstances are riveted instead of being dissipated by education. How different is it in many of the Protestant countries on the Continent, whom in point of toleration and general biblical learning we are far behind The Church of England multiply their enemies and increase the number of sects: there are now more than twenty distinct classes. Her ministers are also too much occupied with contending for the loaves and fishes—Religion is made too much a trade. *Amminianus Marcellinus*, a heathen writer, in speaking of the early contentions for the See of Rome, says, he does not wonder it was so eagerly sought—such was the luxury of their table, equipage, and manner of living: but he adds, "they would be truly happy if, despising the mag-"nificence of the city, they would imitate some of "the bishops of provincial towns, *whose temperance* "*in eating and drinking, plainness of apparel, and* "*looking above the world*, recommended them to the "Deity and his true worshippers."

The established clergymen occupy the Church as though it were a battery besieged by enemies, while intestine divisions momentarily endanger their existence. And, be it ever remembered, that when the fanatic cry of No Popery was nearly allayed, this Christian Church, three years since, had the impolicy and impiety of themselves to revive it. Petitions poured in from every diocese, and a most unchristian crusade was vehemently preached. An instance of

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more wilful and bitter uncharity never so disgraced the pages of church history! I shall not close these remarks, without expressing with what contemptuous indignation the whole body of Catholics and all true lovers of freedom regard the conduct of that man who pledged his early faith to the support of their claims, and who, since his accession to power, has not only disappointed this hope by not supporting them, but actually by his own personal party has alone prevented their emancipation. One should have thought, that attachment to one of their body, and that gratitude had prevented such unprincipled conduct:—but, no; he who has *never* kept his faith with a Catholic individual, will never do it with the public.

> "I hate ingratitude more in a man
> Than lying,-vainness, babbling drunkenness,
> Or any taint of vice, whose strong corruption
> Inhabits our frail blood."

The following extracts from *Lord Bacon's* essay on UNITY in religion may better elucidate this part of the subject.

"Religion being the chief band of human society, it is "a happy thing when itself is well contained within. "The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils "unknown to the heathen..... We shall therefore speak "a few words concerning the unity of the Church; what are "the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means. "*The fruits of unity*, (next unto the well pleasing of God, "which is all in all) are two; *the one towards those that are "without the Church;* the other *towards those that are "within.* For the *former*, it is certain, that heresies and "schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more "than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a "wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt

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" honour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much
" keep men out of the Church, and drive men out of the
" Church, as breach of unity. The doctor of the Gentiles
" saith, 'If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with
" several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?' And
" certainly it is little better, when atheists and profane per-
" sons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions
" in religion: it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh
" them 'to sit down in the chair of the scorners.' There is
" a master of scoffing, that, in his catalogue of books of a
" feigned library, sets down this title of a book, 'The
" Morris-dance of Heretics:' for, indeed, every sect of them
" hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which can-
" not but move derision in wordlings and depraved politics,
" who are apt to contemn holy things. As for the fruit
" towards *those that are within*, it is peace, which containeth
" infinite blessings: it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity:
" the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of
" conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading
" of controversies into treaties of mortification and devotion.
" Concerning the bonds of unity, the true placing of them
" importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes:
" for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious.
" Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons
" think they may accommodate points of religion by middle
" ways. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will
" be done, if the league of christians, penned by our Saviour
" himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and
" plainly expounded: 'He that is not with us is against us;'
" and again, 'He that is not against us is with us:' that is,
" if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion,
" were truly discerned and distinguished from points not
" merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention.
" This is a thing that may seem to many a matter trivial, and
" done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be
" embraced more generally. Of this I may give only this

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" advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take
" heed of rending God's Church by two kinds of contro-
" versies; the one is, when the matter of the point contro-
" verted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife
" about it, kindled only by contradiction. For as it is noted by
" one of the father's, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but
" the Church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he
" saith, 'There may be varieties of colours in the vestures,
" but let there be no rent.' The other is, when the matter
" of the point controverted is great; but it is driven to an
" over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a
" thing rather ingenious than substantial. The nature of
" such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in
" the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same,
" 'Avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of
" science falsely so called.' Men create oppositions which
" are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas
" the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect
" governeth the meaning. Concerning the means of pro-
" curing unity; men must be aware that, in the procuring or
" in uniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and
" deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be
" two swords amongst christians, the spiritual and temporal;
" and both have their due office and place in the maintenance
" of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which
" is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it, that is, to propagate
" religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force
" consciences. **** Surely this is to bring down the Holy
" Ghost instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a
" vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian
" Church, a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. Surely
" in counsels concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle
" should be prefixed, 'Ira hominis non implet justitiam
" Dei;' the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of
" God. And it was a notable observation of a wise Father,
" and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held

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" and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly " interested therein themselves for their own ends."

Great infidelity is the certain consequence of these irrational endeavours : sensible people are disgusted with the hypocritical conduct of the Puritans, and at their absurd contradictions, and will not pay any attention whatever to the subject, but reject Christianity altogether as a gross imposition. Look then to the private character of your ministers, and all pretenders in politics and religion ; for, in this age of general prostitution, that is the only sure test or guarantee of their public professions : and recollect, that good works, unbounded charity, and a belief in the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ are the only important tenets of the Christian faith—that Our Saviour no where inculcates the belief of minor doctrines as necessary to salvation—that he was too wise an observer of human nature to expect unanimity of judgment among mortal inhabitants of this world, consequently that he could not, that he did not, prescribe it. But one course of conduct he does enjoin to all, and a strictly virtuous life, he tells you, is the only guide to happiness in this or any future existence, as a matter of calculation or religion. What an atrocious accusation of the justice and surpassing mercy of the Deity, to preach, that our benevolent Creator has foredoomed a select few to future happiness, and condemned the many to eternal torment in fire and brimstone, at the vengeance of an implacable devil ! If this be the boundless justice and mercy of their God, it naturally follows, how persecuting and revengeful must be his worshippers. The Lord deliver us from so great a curse as their temporal ascendancy. The fires of Smithfield would

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be rekindled, and one blaze of intolerance and ignorance would utterly consume us. Do not be converted to the doctrine of *expediency*. Let Mr. Vansittart say what he will on the necessity of tolerating lottery schemes and gin shops, or Mr. Wilberforce of white slavery, war, and wholesale murder,—remember what the rambler says, "We have no right ever to do evil that good may come, as we thereby take out of the hands of the Deity the power of legislating."

If we look at the effects of religious freedom in other countries—in Prussia, parts of Germany, and in Switzerland, we see how greatly it conduces to the happiness and moral character of all. Such is the effect of it in the latter country, that a few weeks since I heard a gentleman narrate an anecdote worthy of the early ages, when real christianity was better understood. In the canton of Berne, one of the most aristocratical and calvinistic, a body of Catholics who celebrate service at nine in the morning, lend their church to the French protestant dissenters at twelve, without thinking they weaken either their own cause or the true worship of their Maker. How truly is this liberality the religion of Christ, and how imitative of that Almighty Creator who will one day gather unto his holy abode the pious of all ages and all religions.

What a contrast does the conduct of the free and happy people of Switzerland exhibit in comparison with some other countries. Though suffering from the dearth of the last year more than any other people in Europe—though obliged to dig up the very bones of the dead for broth—though dying of absolute famine, and obliged to emigrate from their beloved

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country, yet did we see scarcely a disturbance or murmur throughout the whole kingdom. The Swiss knew they were represented; that every thing that justice and humanity could suggest, was instantly tried to alleviate their distress. Almost every man renting a house and paying government taxes is represented in the upper or lower houses of representation. The Canton of Berne especially enacted that no white flour should be used by any-body, that the greatest possible quantity should be extracted from the bran, that all public shows and amusements should be suspended, and recommended the higher orders to appropriate their superfluous money, and that formerly spent in luxuries, to the relief of the poor. Therefore did we hear of no seditions or attempts on the lives of their magistrates, or of any blasphemy of religion,—the Swiss *people* knew that their real interest was pursued, and bore with patient resignation the will of providence. Some of the Cantons are aristocratical—some democratical. The aristocracies are composed of a great council and a senate; the latter, in some cantons enjoying exclusive authority, and in others acting under the controul of the great or supreme council, that assemble at stated times, and superintends the administration of public affairs. In the democracies the supreme power is vested in the people at large, who, in several cantons, assemble ANNUALLY for the purposes of legislation, and to choose their magistrates and councils of regency. The general and particular diets of all emanate from the people. The Helvetic union of the different cantons, is a perpetual defensive alliance between the independent contracting powers, to protect each other by their

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united forces against all foreign enemies, and a reciprocal guarantee of the forms of government established in the respective commonwealths. The essential object of the league is the preservation of general peace and good order, for which purpose it is covenanted, that all public discussions shall be finally settled between the contending parties in an amicable manner, and with this view particular judges and arbiters are appointed, who are impowered to compose the dissentions that may happen to arise. They alone can impose taxes. The Swiss above all other nations are proverbial for their honesty and devotedness to their country; and there have been fewer civil and foreign wars than in any country in Europe. Their form of government has now endured near *Five hundred years*, with scarcely any interruption except from the ambition of Bonaparte. Education has been long an object of attention, so that even the peasants are well informed; *and a capital punishment rarely occurs once in ten years.* The following is the character of the people by the latest writer:—"The inhabitants are divided into "two classes; the first composed of citizens and "gentlemen, who reside either in the towns or in "the country; the second class consists of the "inhabitants of the villages and country, some of "whom live by the culture of their fields and vine-"yards, and by the profits arising from their cattle, "and others by manufactures and trade. From the "Swiss cantons every appearance of pomp and "luxury is excluded, and the strictest economy is "practised. Equality is preserved by a custom "that is prevalent, which is, that of dividing estates "among the children, male and female, with this

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" exception, that a father may bequeath one third " of his property to any one of his sons, as he " pleases, so no one is raised too much above the " level of the community. A spirit of independence " and freedom, tempered by decency and good order, " pervades all ranks of these people. Jealous of " their privileges, and tenacious of their liberties, " they are enamoured of their country, the mild " government and sublime scenery of which present " to them irresistible attractions. They are honest, " sober, industrious, brave, and remarkable for their " fidelity. Religious in principle, they are addicted " neither to superstition nor fanatical enthusiasm. " Their customs and diversions are of the warlike " kind. Plays, gaming, &c. are discouraged. The " higher orders, in their dress and general mode of " life, imitate the Germans and French; but the " dress and manners of the inferior class are plain " and simple, not subject to the laws of fashion. " Their houses, except in some sequestered vallies, " are chiefly constructed of wood, and neatly fur- " nished in the least expensive style. They indulge " in no delicacy of fare, their ordinary food being the " fruit of their labour, and the product of the soil. " The original simplicity of the pastoral life is every " where preserved; none seem to be discontented; " none are miserably poor, and scarcely any beggars " are to be seen. Under a mild government they " all live at ease." Though differing in religion, Catholics and Protestants have each the management of their own individual ecclesiastical affairs; *they agree to differ*, living in mutual amity, without invading the rights and privileges of one another, or striving for tyrannical ascendency. The clergy

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having no political advantages to gain by defending this or that sect, are less occupied with pushing their worldly interest, and have more time to ingratiate themselves with the laity, and to attend to an unprejudiced investigation of theology. The reformation was introduced by the celebrated Zuingle, who differed in some speculative points from Calvin and Luther; the whole life of this great and good man was spent in explaining the Holy Scriptures, and in giving men's minds a turn to regulate themselves more by the rules of the gospel, than by those of ecclesiastical ceremony and discipline. The only disgrace on the national character has been their propensity to engage as mercenaries in foreign war, and the willingness of their government to forward this trade in the "*bodies and lives of men.*" Zuingle had the boldness to upbraid and reprobate this wickedness, equalled only by cannibalism. And when in the general assembly of Schweitz, in 1722, a proposal was made in consequence of the disasters which had befallen the Swiss, to renounce all foreign alliances, the motion was supported by Zuingle in a most eloquent and animated speech, in which he brought home to the audience the guilt of inflicting the miseries of war upon people who had never offended them, and the *fatal effects of a military life in introducing among them corruption of manners.* What a contrast does the government exhibit, I shall now review, to shew the effects of *Legitimacy.*

It is the restoration of another mouldy Bourbon—another Ferdinand, a namesake and rival of the detestable Spaniard. The fallen character of the Italians is too well known to need any description.

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Every friend of freedom and learning must deplore the degenerated state of that country, the cradle of Europe which has nurtured so much science and literature. The vigour and integrity of the Roman character is now lost in sloth and immorality, and no country on earth exhibits such a deplorable, moral, and political degradation. Gibbon has ably traced the causes of the decay and fall of the Roman empire. When the imperial despotism had destroyed the liberties of the people—had oppressed them with taxes and monopolized property, their spirit was completely destroyed: they were so sunk in apathy and ignorance, and so lost to every virtuous and noble feeling, that they have remained ever since, with the exception of a temporary revival in the middle ages, a striking example of the dreadful evils of despotism, ignorance, and superstition.

Bishop Burnet, in his travels through Switzerland and Italy, makes many apposite remarks.

"Switzerland," says this good Bishop, "lays between France and Italy, which are both of them countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with all the conveniences of life, than it; and yet Italy is almost dispeopled, and the people in it are reduced to a misery, which can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and France is in a great measure dispeopled, and the inhabitants are reduced in all the marks in which it can shew itself; in their houses, furniture, clothes, and books. On the contrary Switzerland is full of people, and in every place, in their villages, as well as in their towns, one sees all the marks he can look for, of plenty and wealth, and every one lives at his ease. This surprized me yet more in the country of the Grisons, who have almost no soil at all, being situated in vallies, the soil of which is almost all

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washed away withthe torrents falling down from the hills; yet these vallies are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at his ease, under a gentle government; whilst other rich and plentiful countries are reduced to such miseries, that as many of the inhabitants are forced to change their seats, so they who stay behind, *can scarce live, and pay those grievous impositions which are laid upon them,*" p. 43. "In the Faranese we were amazed to see so rich a soil forsaken of its inhabitants; and much more, when we passed through that vast town, which is now so much deserted, that there are whole sides of streets without inhabitants. I could not but ask all I saw, how it came to pass that so rich a soil was so strangely abandoned? Some said, the air was become so unhealthy, that they who stay in it are very short lived. But it is well known, that eighty years ago it was well peopled; the ill air is occasioned by want of inhabitants to drain the ground, and keep the ditches clean; *the true cause is, the severity of the government, the heavy taxes, and frequent confiscations, which have devoured many families, and driven away many more,*" *p.* 166. "Florence is much sunk from what it was, and the other states that were once great republics, such as Siena and Pisa, while they retained their liberty, are now shrunk almost into nothing. Tuscany exhibits the same fallen appearance, what few people there are look poor, and their houses are such miserable ruins, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much poverty in so rich a country, which is all over full of beggars. The dispeopling of Tuscany, and most of the principalities of Italy, but chiefly of the Pope's dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of Italy, seemed to flow from nothing but the severity of the government, and the great decay of trade," p. 176. "When I was within a day's journey of Rome, I fancied that the neighbourhood of so great a city must mend the matter; but I was much disappointed; for a

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soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly, that it far exceeded anything I ever saw out of Italy, had neither inhabitants in it, nor cattle upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear: the surprize that this gave me, increased upon me as I went out of Rome. On the other side, chiefly all the way to Civita Vecchia, for that vast and rich champaign country, that runs all along to Terracina, which from Civita Vecchia is above an hundred miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty miles broad, is abandoned to such a degree, that as far as one's eye can reach, there is not so much as an house to be seen, but on the hills that are on the north side of the valley. In a word, it is the rigour of the government that has driven away the inhabitants," p. 181. "In Apulia, the richest part of all Italy, the commons are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they die of hunger, even amidst the great plenty of their best years." p. 191.

The Bishop describes Bologna as enjoying more liberty than any city in Italy, and therefore full of people abounding in wealth: the same description he gives of Marseilles, in France, with the same happy consequences; but of the republic of Genoa, "there is for many miles, as it were, a constant tract of towns and villages, and all those are well peopled, though they have scarce any soil at all; and that they lie upon a boisterous sea which is always in a storm, and which affords very few fish; yet the gentleness of the government draws such multitudes thither, and they are so full of wealth, that money goes at two per cent."

What was once the flourishing situation of Denmark, and what is it now? The imposition of enormous taxes, with encroachments on their liberty, have brought on its present decay. And an able writer,

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says, that in lieu of money the rapacious tax-gatherers have been forced to take old feather-beds, bedsteads, brass, pewter, wooden chairs, &c. which they violently took from the poor people, who were unable to pay, leaving them destitute of all manner of necessaries for the use of living.

In Swinburne's travels through Spain, there is a striking description of the Spaniards.

"The listless indolence, equally dear to the uncivilized savage, and to the degenerate slave of despotism, is no where more indulged than in Spain; thousands of men in all parts of the realm, are seen to pass their whole day, wrapped up in a cloak, standing in rows against a wall, or dozing under a tree," p. 369. "They are not naturally a serious melancholy people, but misery and discontent have cast a gloom over them; increased, no doubt, by the long habit of distrust and terror inspired by the Inquisition," p. 372.

Robinson joins with Mr. Swinburne, in attributing the declension of their trade, the loss of their wealth, and their want of people, to the despotic government and taxation introduced by Charles the Fifth. Robinson's Charles V. vol. ii. p. 262.

Is the climate and fertility of their country at all changed? Was there no way of recalling their ancient virtues and happiness? Surely the restoration of the causes of these lamentable evils was never the mode of effecting a renovation, except by so disgusting the people, as to rouse them the more completely to break their oppressive and disgraceful chains. *We* have riveted these chains—we virtually are the head of the Catholic Church; we have been called her Younger Sister, but we are in fact her Parent; we have restored her to her former ascendency, and we have put on again her heads and horns! When al-

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most expiring we brought about resuscitation. To the people of Great Britain then, or rather to the Boroughmongers, she is virtually indebted for her very existence. Whether she will be able to preserve her life, or whether it is not that deceptive revival so frequently preceding the hour of death, is another question. At the Vienna Congress *we* signed and sealed away the liberties of the people without in any one single instance stipulating for their rights or privileges. We might have procured them toleration, and some degree of popular representation; we might have told the allied Sovereigns, we were determined to befriend their people against former oppressions, as the only sure means of preserving peace. But to proceed to the instance of Ferdinand, King of Naples, one of the favourite protegé's of England. When Murat came to the throne, he immediately encouraged industry, and endeavoured to destroy the combination existing amongst the Lazaroni to the terror of all good government. He also prevented a monopoly by which a few merchants dealt out the whole flour of the kingdom at their own exorbitant profit, and himself bought up large quantities to sell at the cost price. Had this ill-fated soldier remained, he and his posterity might have greatly reformed the people, and destroyed much of their superstition; at all events, they could not have made them worse. Had he been a *legitimate* Monarch, the Holy League, preceded by Lord Wellington, would have marched to support him; but being a *natural* one, no treaty is to be kept with him, he is driven from his throne—and an outcast of royal society, his murder is not only permitted with impunity, but openly lauded! Behold his successor—a Bourbon—a wretched old legitimate King, who has

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no one pre-eminent quality, but the ability of twisting more maccaroni into his mouth at one time than any of his subjects! This noble feat he has long been celebrated for. In the life-time of a legitimate wife, he kept a mistress; and on the mysterious termination of the misfortunes of his ill-treated consort, has since married that mistress which, with the Pope's dispensation, somewhat eases his dotard conscience. She is not however recognized as Queen. The monopoly of flour is re-licensed, and this ci-devant mistress is strongly suspected of having a large share in the profits! The Lazaroni are again sleeping in the catacombs, as our poor sailors and beggars lodge in the arches of the Waterloo Bridge. Such are the effects of legitimacy, that darling of C****** H****! The selfish splendour of the Neapolitan Court is the only consolation the people derive for their lost freedom! May carnivals and carousals, fetes and court levees never supplant the liberties and public meetings of England. May P*****s and Borough Chateaus never be built with the ruins of the Cottage and the Custom House.

But to turn to the private enemies of reform. No doubt the Corruptionists are quite satisfied with having their full share of the good things of life. And it is not surprising that they do not sympathize in our wants; for the glutton whose stomach is full, passes the poor tattered beggar without commiserating his hunger or nakedness. But who are the best judges of the suffering of famine, those who experience it, or those who never do? The monopolist always defends his exclusive patent, though notoriously contrary to the public weal. So is it with the present House of Commons. As for the herd of ser-

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vile and hired writers, vultures always follow large armies, and feed on the slaughtered carcases. These carnivorous birds of prey are however driven from some of their highest roosts. Thus there is now left but one sincere advocate of divine right and passive obedience. The rookery has been destroyed, and this solitary bird occupies the whole *Day* in lamenting how the Old Times has passed away, *and* how little attention is paid to the *New Times*. Alas! poor maniac Dr. to gain attention thou hast in an evil moment pilfered thy old Master's title page, and has thy master says, lookest as foolish as the ass in the fable, who strutted in the Lion's skin. Many of these Cormorants have been violent democrats. Now I caution you against puking Poets, and besotted Lay Sermons,* for after a fit of inebriety nothing

* One would think that the ravings of some Preachers were instigated by the juice of the grape or the poppy. Nor would it surprize me if next year we had a lay sermon on the literal interpretation of that lay text in Blackstone (*Christian's* ed.) vol. I. p. 429.—"*The King never dies.*" This immortal perpetuity is a delightful piece of ultra royalty. Ultra christianity may then gather strength and wrap itself up in transubstantiation, or even mystical transmigration! And what if another year in the plenitude of his genius he should increase like a snow ball, and superinduce Mahometism on his present faith, for that he can do without relinquishing any christianity; he may then take as much opium as he likes, but must leave off fermented liquors. Oh! thou plaything of genius, how little could it have been supposed that thou, who a few years since believed nothing, should now swallow so much. Whence comes this attachment to *omnium*. Thou who once thought there was nothing worth having in thy native country, hath at last discovered there is a superfluity of blessings! There was a time when the unsophistocated wilds of America could alone contain the sickliness of thy exudations. Why did'st thou not depart and spend there the warmth of thy *feelings*? Why didst thou stay in the foggy island till mists obscured thy vision? But I must let thee alone, thou victim of an exuberant imagination, or the alchohol of my

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is more common than a weak and mawkish stomach. And always distrust those violent advocates and

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dram will be fatal. Thou hast repented of *thy* youthful errors, like another brother bard, the companion of thy *boyish* days, but reason has repented too, and since deserted her puling subjects.

> " *Remorse* is as the heart, in which it grows
> " If that be gentle, it drops balmy dews
> " Of true repentance; but if proud and gloomy,
> " It is a poison-tree, that pierced to the inmost,
> " Weeps only tears of poison."
>
> Act I. Scene I.

But I cannot let him go without one more shake, however it may discompose his susceptible nerves. In preaching on ultra royalty, how came he to pass over the *choice* of Saul the first King of the Jews, 1 Sam. viii. 7, 18. The Israelites begged of the Prophet Samuel that he would appoint them a king, that they might be governed in the same mode as their idolatrous neighbours. The Prophet in vain remonstrated with his obstinate followers on the destruction of their theocracy, and disobedience to the will of their Deity,—but the Jews were not to be served, and Samuel was obliged to communicate to the Almighty this strange desire for a despotic monarch. The Creator instructed Samuel to grant their request, if after solemnly protesting against it, and predicting the manner of the king that should reign over them, they should still persist. " And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that asked of him a king. This shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties, and he will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvests, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots, and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants. And he will take your men-servants and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day.

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foaming orators who would prompt you to extremes, for you may rest assured they are either spies or weak enthusiasts, and their plots mere *Castles* in the air. A raging fever is succeeded by pottering debility; and, to use a piece of ministerial cant, reaction is the natural consequence of one extreme, as

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Nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, nay, but there shall be a king over us; that we also may be like all the nations; and that our kings may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles." No Rabbi or Jesuit can torture this into *divine right*. Children of Abraham, how bitterly do you now feel the consequences of *human might!* Blinded by the splendour of neighbouring courts, you sacrificed yourselves to pomp and magnificence. Thinking you should be no more taken by surprize, or sold into the hands of your enemies for your transgressions, you set up an idol in a *despotic* sovereign. You might have prevented foreigners from enslaving you, but you enslaved yourselves: you set up a king without having the least controul over him; and the consequence was, that so far from protecting you in the peaceable enjoyment of your liberty and property, he took them both away from you with violence, to aggrandize himself, and to enrich his favourites. To secure himself from your just resentment, he entrenched his palaces with numerous guards, maintaining a large standing army as the ministers of his vengeance, and the guardians of his lawless power. He compelled your sons to serve in his armies, and forced them to assist him in subjugating their parents and friends. He oppressed you with taxes till the name of *Publican* was the most odious and infamous reproach! A limited monarchy is the best form of government for this island; but you were blessed with a popular government under the immediate superintendance of the great Ruler of all, and yet reared a despotic monarchy which proved your destruction; and we are now incited to do the same! But three hundred years after the appointment of Saul, God reminded you of your sin and folly. "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath." How long will Europe bow down to receive the same yoke? How long will despotism support her empire with a military force? Though in profound peace, she still swarms with soldiers. Will their numbers increase till like caterpillars and locusts, they devour all the good of the land?

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you observe a ball rebound in the contrary direction to which it is sent against a wall. There is another most arch enemy of Reform whom I must not let escape, because he libels you on all occasions; and even on a late opportunity indulged in excessive facetiousness when describing your character and motives. Who would have thought that this witty man could have played second fiddle to a noble Lord's leading?—But I must not name our unprincipled foe, or the truth may be prosecuted as libellous. I have no doubt you *can* find him out by the following description:—This *natural child* of Corruption was educated, clothed, and fed by the Opposition, though the ingrate has never manifested a spark of patriotism. Self-interest has been the guide of his conduct through life. Against the conviction of his principles he enlisted under the flag of his enemies, and has been a traitor and poltroon on every side. Detected in endeavouring to undermine the influence and character of his colleague, he was turned out of partnership; and, when the grapes were sour, declared it was impossible for him ever again to associate with such weak and unprincipled companions. But this worshipper of mammon, not able to resist the lust of the flesh, again proffers his venal talents, and under-workmen being much wanted for holding together the rottenness of the system, this night man, this *political prostitute*, is again taken in. A foreign voyage was planned to put a little money into his empty purse, and somewhat remove the morbid tone of feeling which had latterly characterized his opposition to the minister. But no one ever more completely failed in realizing his splendid dreams—he has justly incurred the contempt of every party, and, like all

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apostates, is despised by his enemies and distrusted by his friends. He has met the fate of a late actor, being rarely brought out—indeed, to use a technical expression, he is completely shelved. With some little frothy talent, he is totally destitute of sound judgment and common honesty; but his ready faculty of letting speeches is sometimes useful, like a ready-made clothes shop, when we are pressed for time. He is surely the last man in the world to complain of Mr. Hunt's oratorical partialities; for, some time back, this pedlar vended his orations at every stage, "doing every town in his way." I am rejoiced at his disappointment on a late University election, because I think his constituents will soon be somewhat staggered at the great expence of returning him. What says his friend Mr. G.....? And what says that volunteer friend of Downing Street to the Property Tax next year? Will the town of ..... be *glad* of its revival? You, I know, will be *glad to the back-bone*. You were born with an innate attachment to existing powers. But what say the speculative Philosophers of the Club? Some of them I have observed in the Gazette—so it seems individuals at least can spunge and take the benefit of the Insolvent Act.* What will these new beginners say to its revival? They would no doubt vociferate loudly in its favour, for it would not affect them in the least. They would answer the Commissioners as Horne Tooke did some years since:—"Really, gentlemen, I know of no income;

* Why should not the Public be equally justified? Or would it not be a better plan if we sent up to the treasury the whole of our real and personal property, and if after settling day any difference should remain, that we had returned as much as they could afford?

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but if you can procure or discover any for me I shall be most exceedingly thankful." The collector's response to the urgent calls of the treasury will be "non est inventus."

There are others of your enemies who belong to the tribe of easy Simon. A set of weak creatures who never had two ideas in their brain. These people are attached to the existing forms whatever they may be, not particularly from any self interest, but from a want of power of mind to perceive that any renovations are necessary. They know nothing and care nothing about politics, and think we are factious fellows for not manifesting the same apathy. We are not however bound to find understanding for these miserable drones; their opposition is of little importance, they cannot be induced to take much trouble in opposing you, and always go with the stream whenever or from wheresoever it arrives.

There are however some sincere friends of corruption and boroughmongering who oppose your wishes of reform, without the least venal motive interfering. These are denominated *alarmists*, and the great difficulty is to distinguish them from the Prostitutes. They are chiefly a set of men who have been terrified by the horrors of the French revolution, and are fearful of reform leading to the same crimes! *We* think reform is the very means of averting such a misfortune; but on the subject of that revolution I shall presently make a few remarks, previously giving you a test whereby you may frequently discover the real alarmist from the hired lick-spittle, and the wolves in sheeps cloathing.

Hudibras, the reviewer of Puritans, Wat Tyler, and ultra royalists, has shewn you a mirror wherein

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canting orthodoxy and ultra royalty are expounded. In the following lines you may perceive the influence operating with renegade Poets and apostate Editors of quarterly and daily writings.

> " What's orthodox and true believing
> Against a conscience? A good living.
> What makes rebellion against Kings
> A good old cause? Adminis'trings.
> What makes all doctrines plain and clear?
> About two hundred pounds a year.
> And that which was proved true before
> Prove false again? Two hundred more!

It is curious Hudibras should have been so prophetic of the precise sum. There are a few of these enemies who occupy one of the grand batteries of corruption; their guns are tried *quarterly*, and every now and then they edify us with a treatise on the importance of sinecures, and " on the rise and progress of disaffection." Their work is the barometer of the Boroughmongers, in which you may always see the progressive increase of corruption.

One of the authors, although the government has got into difficulties by exceeding the public income, recommends ministers to spend more then ever! O sapient advice; then an individual who has plunged deeply into debt, and cannot pay the people he is already indebted to,—that individual is to increase his expenses, because, if he retrenches, his butcher and baker would lose the custom—in short, he is to go on renewing his bills, till at length the whole neighbourhood is involved in insolvency! Were these his daily principles, his private character would not rank so deservedly high. O pseudo poet; thou mayest be a superior adulatory Carmenite, but thou art no political *economist*—an unprincipled *spend-*

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thrift is thy proper title. What a convenient circumstance to live near the borders, because, like a vagrant gipsey, if you find yourself on the wrong side, it is easy to step from one kingdom into another. A day of judgment however will arrive, when apostacy shall meet with its due reward. The prose writings of Milton might shame this advocate of persecution.*

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* *Contrast between two State Poets, a living and a dead one.*

How much more creditable would it be if instead of writing an eulogising review on the visitation charge of a Metropolitan Bishop, of fomenting religious cavils, and striving to exclude a most learned and moral body of Christians from the Christian Community, among whom occur the celebrated names of Priestley, Lindsey, Lardner, Locke, Gilbert Wakefield, Dr. Law the late Bishop of Carlisle, and possibly those of Sir Isaac Newton and Sir William Jones; how much better, if instead of encouraging such disgraceful uncharity, did a certain reviewer and state poet imitate MILTON in advocating toleration and denying the wickedness of murdering and pillaging French Protestants. That immortal poet treating of the 6th, 19th, 20th and 21st articles of the Church of England, says, that "they maintain these two points the main "principles of true religion; that the rule of true religion is the "word of God only: and that the faith of Protestants ought not "to be an implicit faith, that is to believe, though as the Church "believes, without or against express authority of Scripture: "And if all Protestants, as universally as they hold these two "principles, so attentively and religiously would *observe* them, "they would avoid and cut off many debates, and contentions, "schisms and persecutions, which too oft have been among them, "and more firmly unite them against the common adversary "(Catholicism.) For hence it directly follows, that no true "Protestant can persecute, or not tolerate his fellow Pro-"testant, though dissenting from him in some opinions, but he "must flatly deny and renounce those two his own main princi-"ples, whereon true religion is founded. Schism is a rent or "division in the Church, when it comes to the separating of con-"gregations; and may also happen to a true Church, as well as "to a false; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of "communion, if they can agree in the right administration to "that wherein they communicate, keeping their other opinions of

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On the French Revolution — the Argument of the Alarmists.

The terrors of a pretended conspiracy against the life of the chief magistrate, the British Constitution and public credit, has lately much increased the numbers of the alarmists. And the revelations of

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" themselves, not being destructive to faith. The Pharisees and " Sadducees were two sects, yet both met together in their " common worship of God at Jerusalem! But here it may " be angrily demanded, what! are Lutherans, Calvanists, Ana- " baptists, Socinians, Arminians, no heretics? I answer, all these " may have some errors, but are *not* heretics. Heresy is a reli- " gion taken up and believed from the traditions of men, and " additions to the word of God. Heresy is in the will and choice " professedly against scripture; error is against the will, in mis- " understanding the scripture, after all sincere endeavours to " understand it rightly. It is a human frailty to err, and no " man's infallible here on earth. But so long as all these profess " to set the word of God only before them as the rule of faith " and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, " by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for the illumination " of the holy spirit, to understand the rule and to obey it, " they have done what man can do: God will assuredly pardon " them as he did the friends of Job; good and pious men, though " much mistaken, as there it appears, in some points of doctrine. " What Protestant then, who himself maintains the same princi- " ples and disavows all implicit faith, would persecute, and not " rather charitably tolerate such men as these, unless he mean to " abjure the principles of his own religion? If it be asked, how " far they should be tolerated, I answer, doubtless *equally*, as " being all Protestants; that is on all occasions to give account " of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several " assemblies, public writing, and the freedom of printing. For " if the French and Polonian protestants enjoy all this liberty " among papists, much more may a Protestant justly expect it " among Protestants; and yet sometimes here among us, the one " persecutes the other upon every slight pretence. In logic they " teach that contrarieties laid together more evidently appear: " it follows then that all controversy being permitted, falsehood,

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the Green Bag have made them more vicious than ever against the cause of reform. The report of

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" will appear more false, and truth more true, which must needs " conduce much, not only to the confounding of popery, but to " the general confirmation of unimplicit truth."

Such are the noble principles of our great poet, who was against all civil disabilities for conscience sake, notwithstanding he lived in an age proverbial for rancorous bigotry both in politics and religion. I cannot resist inserting some other prose writings as a parallel to the shame of the modern poet. And I assure that poet *I* am no Socinian, as he in his ignorance calls those Christians who cannot believe in the pre-existence of Our Saviour. Milton was also a great state writer, but in prose; and for the *Protector*, Oliver Cromwell, who in these instances (though an illegitimate sovereign) certainly merited his usurped title. In the 16th century some hundreds of families of the Vaudois were most cruelly persecuted by the Catholics. Numbers of them were wantonly butchered, many driven from their homes and reduced to great distress, and their orthodox countrymen *excited* against them. These industrious and virtuous people were remarkable for the purity and simplicity of their religion, for their constancy in adhering to what they conceived was the truth—for the spotless innocence that shone forth in their lives and actions, and their noble contempt of riches and honours—and for chastity in their conduct and conversation. They adopted as the model of their moral discipline the sermon of Christ on the Mount; and in their society they condemned ALL wars, suits at law, lust of wealth or power, infliction of capital punishment, and oaths of all kinds. On the occasion of their persecution, Cromwell sent a letter to Immanuel Duke of Savoy and Prince of Piedmont—the letter was written by Milton and the following extract is part of it.

" These things, when they were related to us, we could not " chuse but to be touched with extreme grief and compassion for " the sufferings and calamities of this afflicted people. Now in " regard we must acknowledge ourselves linked together not " only by the same tie of humanity, but by joint communion of the " same religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our " Duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profession of the " same religion, if we should only be affected by a bare sorrow " for the misery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute " *all* our endeavours to relieve and succour them in their unex- " pected adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a great " measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your Royal " Highness that you would call back to your thoughts the mode-

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the *secret* committee appointed to inquire into the contents of that horrible pandemonium was partly

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" ration of your most serene predecessors, and the liberty by " them granted and confirmed from time to time to their subjects " the Vaudois, in granting and confirming which, as they did " that which without all question was most grateful to God, who " has been pleased to reserve the jurisdiction and power over the " conscience to himself alone, so there is no doubt but that they " had a due consideration of their subjects also, whom they found " stout and most faithful in war, and always obedient in peace. " We again beseech your Royal Highness would vouhsafe to " abrogate both this edict (for relinquishing their religion) and " whatsoever else may be decreed to the disturbance of your " subjects upon account of the *reformed* religion, that you " would ratify to them their concealed privileges and pristine " liberty, and command their losses to be repaired, and that an " end be put to their oppressions." May 1655.

Other letters were written to the Swiss, intreating their mediation and assistance in this holy cause. And after another epistle to the legitimate Duke it appears as if the semblance of peace was effected. But in 1658 it appears the following letter became necessary to Lewis, King of France.

" After a most bloody butchery of both sexes and all ages, at " length peace was granted, or rather a *certain clandestine* " Hostility covered over with the name of peace. The condi- " tions of peace were agreed in your town of Pignerol. But by " false constructions and various evasions, the assurances of all " these articles are eluded and violated: many are thrust out " from their ancient abodes; many are forbid the exercise of " their religion; new tributes are exacted, a new citadel is imposed " upon them, from whence the soldiers, frequently making excur- " sions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Which I most " earnestly beseech and conjure ye, *most Christian King*, by " that RIGHT HAND which signed the league and friendship " between us, by that same goodly ornament of your title of " MOST CHRISTIAN, by no means to suffer, nor to permit " such liberty of rage and fury, uncontroled we will not say, in " any Prince (for certainly such barbarous severity could never " enter the breast of any Prince, much less of one so tender " in years, nor into the female thoughts of his mother) but in " those sanctified cut-throats, who profess themselves to be the " servants and disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into " this world to *save* Sinners, abuse his meek and peaceful name " and precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the Innocent.

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founded on the depositions of the most infamous wretch in the kingdom! That report charged the British nation with being deeply infected with disloyal and revolutionary principles; that religion was openly blasphemed and sedition every where studiously

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" Rescue you that are able in your towering station, worthy to be " able, rescue so many suppliants prostrate at your feet from the " hands of Ruffians, who lately drunk with blood, again thirst " after it, and think it their safest way to throw the odium of " their cruelty upon Princes. But as for you, great Prince, " suffer not while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of " your kingdom, to be contaminated with this same Heaven-offering " scandal, nor the peaceful Gospel of Christ to be defiled with " such abominable cruelty."

Nor was it in writing only that these illegitimate Englishmen assisted their persecuted fellow Christians, but the *Government* remitted £2000 to the Senate of Genoa, with a beautiful letter written also by Milton, saying that though the sum was small yet it might refresh and revive the most poor and needy till they could afford a more bountiful supply! What has the Pitt system lately brought on the Vaudois posterity; And how is the customary allowance paid in support of their Clergy?

In similar circumstances on a late persecution and massacre in the South of France, what did the Government of *Great* Britain do? A feeble remonstrance was made. *Only* a few hundred had been murdered! Only a few score pregnant women whipped with iron rods! But what commiseration in their fate could we expect from those who can behold unmoved and ithout remorse the scourging and torture of their own contrymen? Did the govern- send any money to the relief of the French Protestants? No, not a farthing! Did the established Clergymen? No! but were collecting subscriptions to celebrate the victory of Waterloo. Who did then relieve them? Were there no Englishmen of feeling hearts? Yes, to the shame of government and of our own estab- blished ministers the Protestant dissenting clergy *alone* remitted money from their own scanty pittance. And for this act of Christian fellowship were branded by the idolators of Mr. Pitt as factious—as making this trifling local quarrel between the adherents of Napoleon and Louis, an instrument of attack against Church and State! There is another and a more important tribunal where God will judge the living and the dead.

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inoculated. Now it is false that we are all infected with these dreadful diseases, witness the loads of addresses so acceptable at Carlton House, and which were only equalled in number by the petitions of the Reformers. The following I shall insert out of compliment to the Holy choir who presented it. It will ever stand on record a proof there was some attachment remaining to the person and character of the Prince Regent. And it proves Mr. *Hone's parodies* had not destroyed all respect for the head of the Church.

"We daily offer our prayers to God for the long "continuance of those blessings the fair prospect "of which is open to us by the exercise of every "public and domestic virtue which so highly "distinguishes your Royal Highness both in your "public and private character, and which have laid "the surest foundation for the future happiness of "your people, together with your own, and insured "to your Royal Highness, that glory and prosperity, "which is the never failing reward of every good and "virtuous King in *the love and affection of a grateful* "*people*."

Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester.

This address I quote to prove the inconsistency and unconstitutional severity of suspending the personal liberties of a happy and grateful people. Where is the necessity, for surely there can be no dangerous sedition in a happy and free country, though a few malcontents should by groans and

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hisses insult the personal security of the Sovereign. It would be a libel on the known courage of the Brunswick family, it would be a libel on the high character of his Royal Highness to suppose, that for the sake of *his own personal security*, he would sacrifice that of his happy and grateful people. Why then did the clergy and reverend magistrates of the diocese of Winchester, on a late public meeting, oppose the petition against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act? It was to keep down the cry of reform, it was to maintain the Boroughmongering system entire, it was for such worthy and religious purposes these reverend professors so actively busied themselves.

The real alarmist supports the present corruptions of the House of Commons, because he thinks if the reformers carry their point, a still more corrupt system will be introduced. When we press them to amend ever so little, we are glutted with an importation of all the atrocities of the French revolution, brought across the channel in Napoleon's flat-bottomed boats. A wicked charge is preferred, that we, the advocates of civil and religious freedom, were in fact the destroyers of liberty, and the *cause* of its bloody outrages. How little do these fools know of the principles of induction, how weakly do they mistake the effect for the cause! Their own furious *Jacobite* principles were the cause of those melancholy scenes. Do they not know that that awful convulsion was the consequence of their own narrow prejudices? Was it not an awful warning of the bigotry and impolicy of the French Court in opposing the growing improvements of time? Was it not another dreadful example of the soundness of our

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great historian's remark, who, writing on the decline and fall of a great empire says, "Individuals seldom profit by experience, Governments never." Was it not occasioned by a *contempt* of the people, by a blind adhesion of the old Bourbon Government to all its abuses, an obstinate opposition to all reform, and a determination to oppose the powerful current of progressive civilization? Jacobinism may have increased its excesses, but that it caused them, I defy all the venal editors and reviewers to prove with all their powers of sophistry and habitual deceit.

Let us now see how far these terrified dupes of political quackery are right in their funereal dirges on the *lasting* ill effects of that revolution. They may well mourn over its probable destruction of their own narrow system, they may well howl on their approaching confusion. The time is not far distant when the effects will most signally manifest themselves.

That the French revolution has sadly disturbed the late quiet and peace of the world I acknowledge with deep sorrow. Far be it from me to justify its bloody and flagitious enormities; far be it from me to justify the infamous execution of their pious and unfortunate monarch, for I am against ALL capital punishments of any crime except malicious deliberate murder. But I do assert that no revolution has produced or is pregnant with consequences more truly glorious and beneficial to the future interests of the world, both in its moral and intellectual progress. Now indeed may their cant terms "revulsion" and "transition" be well applied. In proportion to the tyranny and wickedness of the former

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worn out government, so was the excess and wild frenzy of the revolutionists. Just as a young boy ignorant of the world, when he first has unrestricted command of himself, falls an easy sacrifice to all its temptations and profligacies; but experience works a reform.* The French revolution was the first eruption of liberty, which like a volcano of the Andes burst out with overwhelming destruction, yet

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* "In 1781 the *contrôleur-général* of France, under Louis XVI. *Monsieur Joli de Fleuri*, defined "the people" of France, to be "*peuple serf, corvéable, et taillable, à merci et miséricorde.*" It was the misery of this "peuple serf," that urged the cause of the revolution; it was this "*peuple corvéable et taillable, à merci et miséricorde,*" who showed no mercy for their heartless oppressors. It was this race of slaves, degraded, trodden on, broken down, strangers to liberty, to morals, and to religion, how were urged to commit those horrors, for which they are so injustly upbraided, and whose national mildness and natural goodness of disposition might well yield to the temptation of satisfying a vengeance, which the wrongs and slavery of ages had ripened, nourished, and fomented into madness."

"But that long enduring race have now passed away; their children are proprietors, where they were vassels. The torture no longer exists, to feed a spirit of brutal ferocity by its horrible exhibitions. Bigotry no longer presents with them idle forms for real principles, they have nothing to fear from the "*droit de chasse,*" the '*corvée,*' the '*taille,*' the '*gabellé.*' They have tasted a practical freedom, not less perhaps than that enjoyed by the people of England; they are as moral as the people of Scotland; and notwithstanding the recent ravages, they are more prosperous perhaps than either. Oh! may they long continue so; and in spite of that 'scourge of fire' with which an English minister † is said lately to have threatened them; may they boldly resent and timely oppose every effort made by domestic oppression or foreign invasion; which may tend to bring them back to that state in which they were declared, by the law of the land, to be "*un peuple serf,* corvéable et taillable, à merci et miséricorde!"

Lady Morgan, 1817.

† Mr. Canning.

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will the mountain recover its tranquillity, and the soil regain its fertility.

I shall in another place state how famine was the cause of many of these terrors, a warning to my own countrymen against similar scenes. But what are the lasting *ill* effects of this signal event? The contemporary generation bitterly felt its misfortune, but their posterity I am confident will reap much benefit. Far better would it have been for themselves immediately had the Hebrews continued in their Egyptian servitude—for we know their sufferings in the forty years of peril, and that scarcely one of those who left their bondage ever reached the promised land—all having perished in the Wilderness. Yet their posterity enjoyed the fruits of their fortitude and endurance. If however the French revolution had produced no other effect than the emancipation of Saint Domingo and South America, and the destruction of its vile regime—it would have amply compensated us for all its terrors and temporary evils. The advocates of rational liberty are not to be dismayed; though the just and enlightened Carnot, who had sacrificed to his country all personal feelings, with many of his noble coadjutors, are driven from their native land, and forced like the chosen people of God among fierce and hostile enemies.* Yet may they one day return to their country, and found

* In the same proscription stands Gregoire, "the advocate of negro emancipation, the unsubdued supporter of religious freedom, the upholder of the Christian religion, and the protector of its priests, at a moment when all who valued safety above honour and conscience, were eager to renounce their faith and to attest their sincerity by persecuting the clergy."

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a popular constitution independent of Bourbon Allies or the ambitious despotism of Napoleon.

The interregnum, which occured in the French Government, in 1814 and 1815, was a *pierre de touche* of public opinion, and evinced the progress which constitutional principles had made in the nation. Those who still survived of the constitutionalists of 1789: those who had raised their voices in the *first* cry of liberty, now raised them in the *last*; and appeared again upon the scene of action, still struggling against despotism, whatever form it might assume. They combatted not for the Emperor, not for the King: for a series of twenty-five years they had preserved their principles unchanged: the terrors of an infuriate democracy had not daunted them: the splendour of a brilliant court did not dazzle them. They had long indeed abandoned their earlier Utopian dreams; but they invariably cherished that pure bright spark of patriot fire, which had been their column in the wilderness; which had shone upon the path of their exile, brightened the shed of their retreat, and which now when genius has become suspected, and patriotism treasonable, shines over the abode of their voluntary retirement, and marks the spot, where wise men may come and worship.

But though the La Fayettes, the Carnots, the Gregoires, and the Guinguene's, have again receded from the unequal contest, to the bosom of philosophical retirement and of domestic virtue, their transient appearance on the scenes of public life revived many a drooping hope, and called forth spirits, and awakened energies, *which still remain buoyant* on the surface of society, to add to its fermentation, and to increase its interest. Almost the whole of those who make up the thinking class of society (including the men of professional and scientific research,) are constitutionalists; and with this large and superior portion of the population is now blended the greater number of the Buonapartists, who hopeless of their own lost cause, and having nothing to expect for themselves, extend their views once confined to their

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party, to the political welfare of the country. Some however, whom Buonaparte rescued from the deepest obscurity are now the most zealous adherents of the king; and, commuting only the terms royal and imperial, offer the same fulsome homage to Louis XVIII. they so profusely lavished on Napoleon. While the mass of the population are stigmatized by the royalist party with the ephithet of "les enfans de la révolution;" while, as I heard it expressed, "la race qui date de 1789 est proscrite par des vieillards, et la jeunesse est marquée de la sceau de la réprobration," these *children of the revolution* are distinguished by all those indications of freshness, vigour, and energy, which belong to a new, or a regenerated people. This circumstance, united with the inherent vivacity and impetuosity of the French character, gives a tone of excitement and animation to their existence, which it is cheering to witness, and resuscitating to participate. That charming maxim of French urbanity, that in the salon "all ranks are equal;" and the position, that "l' es prit est une dignité," were an acknowledged truth even in the days of the most over-bearing aristocracy. But if there ever was a period in the history of any nation, in which man lorded it over situation, in which individual merit took precedence of all factitious circumstances, that period now exists in the society of France. --- The nation is no longer to be deceived by sounds, nor amused by toys, to be

"Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw."

It has been experimentally proved, through the conflicting revolutions, how little artificial distinctions prevailed, though consecrated by time, and upheld by prejudice. *Man* alone is now the object of man; and *talent* the star, which governs the ascendant of public opinion.

While titles and riches have been scattered with a prodigal hand to plebeian merit, and to serviceable indigence, their splendour and dignity have been still further eclipsed by the changes resulting from frequent revolution; which have

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built up and dispersed, elevated and degraded, with the transciency and instability of a fairy dream, and a primitive simplicity, an absence of ostentatious display, in the reigning modes of life have arisen in France, which aptly assimilate themselves to the tone of the public mind. It is among these contemners of old systems, these vigorous disciples of a practical philosophy, these *children of the revolution*, that the remains of a worn-out race, the mouldering relics of ancient errors, are again brought back, to throw their chilling influence over awakened energy, and to impose restraint upon new impulsions, like the snows, which fall on the burning bosom of Hecla, or the ashes of exhausted fires, which a passing wind scatters over the vigorous vegetation of the Sicilian plains.

When the armies of the allied sovereigns had restored the Bourbon dynasty to its ancient dominions, the royal representative of that long venerated race returned to the capital of his kingdom, like the antiquarian, who rises from the depths of Herculaneum or of Portici, encumbered with relics, and accompanied with the remains of other times. The sudden resurrection of a long-buried aristocracy, "bursting its searments," added another class to the existing arrangement of French society, brought into intimate contact the races of two distinct ages, and mingled the recovered medals of antiquity with the bolder stamped currency of a present coinage. The old emigrant nobility, and their scarcely younger offspring, who accompanied, followed, or joined the King, from all parts of Europe, evinced, that in the transit of more than the quarter of a century, they had suffered only in the outworks of their construction, from the attacks of time, or the innovations of the age. The citadel of opinion was impregnable; experience had made no breach, example could make no impression; and the cumbrous edifice remained indestructible by reason or by proof: dark, compact, and narrow, covered by the mould of centuries,

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and guarded by prejudices, originating in ignorance, and cherished by selfishness."

The Bourbon party is composed of the "modéré," and ultra." "The *moderes* ranged round the king, the *ultras* round the princes; the one desires to keep, by moderation, what they had obtained by preference; the others wish to seize by violence, what they had not gained by election. The "tout prendre" is the sole maxim and principle of both. Thus, while personal interest and personal vanity appear to be the basis of political principles of both, the interests of the nation are left to the private discussions of those, who dare to turn their thoughts to that hazardous point, at the risk of subjecting themselves to the imputation of Jacobinism. Balanced in the measure of their talent, and equally careless of the consequences of their conduct, these two factions occupy the fore ground of the scene, and intimately associated yet fiercely opposed, avowing one principle, yet pursuing different measures, they seem to intimate the warfare of the monkey tribes, who make war on their own species, and threatening vengeance from their trees, grind their teeth, and chatter, and grimace in expectation of that moment, when they may commence with safety to bite, and claw, and exterminate."

Lady Morgan's France, 1817.

What must be the ultimate result of this intestine division in so weak a party, whenever the King dies, or when the allied garrison shall be withdrawn? Lady Morgan remarks, that a very highly endowed ultra-royalist, Monsieur C————, said to her a few days before she left Paris, "You may depend upon it, the rock on which we shall split will be vanity. All want to command, and none will obey. *En attendant*, our disputes and contentions are, *un delice pour les jacobins.*"

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Let not the friends of humanity be disheartened, for though appearances are at present adverse, yet he who looks into futurity must see the success of their constancy. This is a world of probation—misfortunes farther perfect the contrite heart. The effects of these wonderful convulsions must be ultimately beneficial. We cannot always discern their advantages, nor can we at the moment of sorrow reconcile our minds to its necessity and use; but we should remember, that we rarely gain any advantages without its proportion of evil, and that in mortal life "adversity is set over against prosperity." The effects of the Continental wars may ultimately produce the most lasting blessings; and they have brought about that intermixture of nations which infallibly promotes the great cause of freedom and happiness by the interchange of reciprocal advantages. And I am convinced it will be the joyful destruction of all those corruptions in the old Continental governments which have produced so much baseness and misery, and finally eradicate the remaining evils of the feudal system. They have proved to Kings how impotent they are without the assistance of their subjects, and *will* convince them that nothing should be done without the approval of those subjects. They have already destroyed the *theory* of divine right, and the practice also will soon be totally exploded—they have established the wisdom of educating the lower orders—they have taught some Kings they are Trustees originally appointed by the people, for the due regulation of the popular interests—that they are responsible for their trusts—and sooner or later it will, teach *all* Monarchs the same important lesson—that they are not to drown themselves in low-lived sensualities, keeping bed by day and carousing by night—

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that they are not with impunity to set at defiance the the opinions or wishes of the Public—but that they are disinterestedly to consult the common weal, and in their public and domestic character to set such an example to their subjects as shall tend to the honour and advancement of human nature. When the fermentation has subsided, which will not be till many more years have passed away, *we* shall have learnt the unprincipled folly of exciting wars and mortgaging our *resources*. And though we have hitherto escaped some of those direful evils which have befallen our fellow creatures, let us not plume ourselves on impregnable security—" Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Let not the Corruptionists swell in all the bloatedness of their pride, lest those fearful threats *yet* to be accomplished be fulfilled in our destruction.

" *And after these things I saw another angel come*
" *down from heaven, having great power; and the*
" *earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried*
" *mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the*
" *great is fallen, is fallen! For all the kings of the*
" *earth have committed fornication with her; and*
" *the merchants of the earth are waxed rich, through*
" *the abundance of her delicacies. And I heard ano-*
" *ther voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my*
" *people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and*
" *that ye receive not of her punishment; for her*
" *sins have reached unto heaven, and God has kept in*
" *mind her iniquities. Reward her even as she re-*
" *warded you, and double unto her double, according to*
" *her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to*
" *her double. How much she has glorified herself and*
" *lived deliciously, according to her pomp and*

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"luxuries, so much torment and sorrow give her: for
"she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no
"widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall
"her plagues come in ONE DAY, death and mourn-
"ing and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with
"fire, for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.
"And the kings of the earth who have committed
"fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall
"bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the
"smoke of her burning, standing afar off for the
"fear of her torment, saying, Alas! alas! that
"great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in ONE
"HOUR is thy punishment come. And the mer-
"chants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her,
"for no man buyeth their merchandise any more:
"the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious
"stones, and of pearls, and of fine linen, and purple,
"and silk, and scarlet, and every sweet smelling wood,
"and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner
"of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass,
"and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and perfumes,
"and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil,
"and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and
"horses, and carriages, and the bodies and lives of
"men! And the fruits which thy soul lusted after
"are departed from thee, and all those delicacies and
"that finery are departed from thee, and thou shalt
"find them no more at all. The merchants of these
"things, which were made rich by her, shall stand
"afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and
"wailing and saying, Alas! alas! that great city
"that was clothed in fine linen, and purple and scar-
"let, and adorned with gold, and precious stones, and
"pearls! FOR IN ONE HOUR SO GREAT

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" RICHES IS COME TO NOUGHT! *And every ship-master, and all the company in ships and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city! And they cast dust on their heads, and cried weeping and wailing, saying, Alas! alas! for this great city from whose wealth all that had ships in the sea grew rich, for in* ONE HOUR *is she made desolate! And a mighty Angel took up a stone like a great* MILLSTONE, *and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all: and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee; for thy merchants were the great men of the earth, for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived!!!*"

New Testament.

On the stability of the British Empire.

" At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them."

The following is the faithful picture of Great Britain lately drawn by a provincial writer. " The curtain which covered the *policy*, as it is called, of Britain, is fast drawing up, and the display behind

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it startles the imagination, and electrifies the mind. Such a masquerade was never before seen in the world. Britain, the Queen of the Seas, once the Guardian of Freedom, appears surrounded by company, to which she formerly was a stranger, mingling in their unholy rites, and partaking of the cup, more poisonous than the cup of Circe. Superstition and despotism darken the fore-ground, whilst, in the more distant part of the scene, to temper the whole, are spies and informers, and all their deadly crew, whose ghastly countenances pourtray the agitation of their minds, and the black nature of their evil deeds. Crowds of Jesuits dance with the phantoms, which move in mystic circle round startling fear; whilst power, with its iron rod, is fast crushing the freedom of the press, and would destroy, if it could do so, the freedom of thought,—Spain and Portugal lead in chains the trembling natives of Africa, for whose blood and nerves they sigh; whilst an Englishman,* is whispering in an under tone, "pray promise you will *think* about *thinking of attempting* to abolish this bloody trade." Genoa and Ragusa are crying to heaven for vengeance; whilst Poland, Norway, Saxony, and Belgium, are uttering curses loud and deep, against those who have deprived them of their rights to gratify silly ambition, and to satisfy military expediency. France colours with revenge; her blushes conceal the *pale* hue of her haggard cheeks; whilst Italy, with eyes uplifted to heaven, invokes its vengeance on its oppressors But the oppressors, clad in their spoils, and proud

* Erratum, for "Englishman," read "Irishman."

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of their glory, laugh and sing on, careless of the miseries of the fallen, and heedless of their sufferings; they ride along on their splendid hobby-horses, thoughtless of the future, and scorning the past. But beneath the whole heaves a volcano, which threatens by its convulsions, new miseries, and new fires."

"Bounteous in vain, with frantic man at strife,
"Glad nature pours the means—the joys of life;
"In vain with orange blossoms scents the gale,
"The hills with olives clothes, with corn the vale;
"Man calls to Famine, nor invokes in vain,
"Disease and Rapine follow in her train;
"The tramp of marching hosts disturbs the plough,
"The sword, not sickle, reaps the harvest now,
"And where the Soldier gleans the scant supply,
"The helpless Peasant but retires to die;
"No laws his hut from licensed outrage shield,
"And war's least horror is the ensanguined field."

"Fruitful in vain, the matron counts with pride
"The blooming youths that grace her honoured side;
"No son returns to press her widow'd hand,
"Her fallen blossoms strew a foreign strand.
"Fruitful in vain, she boasts her virgin race,
"Whom cultured arts adorn and gentlest grace;
"Defrauded of its homage, Beauty mourns,
"And the rose withers on its virgin thorns.
"Frequent, some stream obscure, some uncouth name
"By deeds of blood is lifted into fame;
"Oft o'er the daily page some soft-one bends
"To learn the fate of husband, brothers, friends,
"Or the spread map with anxious eye explores,
"Its dotted boundaries and penciled shores,
"Asks *where* the spot that wrecked her bliss is found,
"And learns its name but to detest the sound."

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" And think'st thou, Britain, still to sit at ease,
" *An island Queen* amidst thy subject seas,
" While the vext billows, in their distant roar,
" But soothe thy slumbers, and but kiss thy shore?
" To sport in wars, while danger keeps aloof,
" Thy grassy turf unbruised by hostile hoof?
" So sing thy flatterers; but Britain, know,
" Thou who hast shared the guilt must share the woe.
" Nor distant is the hour; low murmurs spread,
" And whispered fears, creating what they dread;
" Ruin, as with an earthquake shock, is here,—
" There, the heart-witherings of unuttered fear,
" And that sad death, whence most affection bleeds,
" Which sickness, only of the soul, precedes.
" Thy *baseless* wealth dissolves in air away,
" Like mists that melt before the morning ray:
" No more on crowded mart or busy street
" Friends, meeting friends, with cheerful hurry greet;
" Sad, on the ground thy princely merchants bend
" Their altered looks, and evil days portend,
" And fold their arms, and watch with anxious breast,
" The tempest blackening in the distant West."

" Yes, thou must droop; thy Midas dream is o'er;
" The golden tide of Commerce leaves thy shore,
" Leaves thee to prove the alternate ills that haunt
" Enfeebling Luxury and ghastly Want;
" Leaves thee, perhaps, to visit distant lands,
" And deal the gifts of Heaven with equal hands.

" Where wanders Fancy down the lapse of years,
" Shedding o'er imaged woes untimely tears?
" Fond moody Power! as hopes—as fears prevail,
" She longs, or dreads, to lift the awful veil,
" On visions of delight now loves to dwell;
" Now hears the shriek of woe or Freedom's knell:

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" Perhaps, she says, long ages past away,
" And set in western waves our closing day,
" Night, Gothic night, again may shade the plains
" Where Power is seated, and where science reigns:
" England, the seat of arts, be only known
" By the grey ruin and the mouldering stone;
" That Time may tear the garland from her brow,
" And Europe sit in dust, as Asia now."

" But who their mingled feelings shall pursue
" When London's faded glories rise to view?
" The mighty city, which by every road,
" In floods of people poured itself abroad,
" Ungirt by walls, irregularly great,
" No jealous drawbridge, and no closing gate;
" Whose merchants (such the state which commerce brings)
" Sent forth their mandates to dependent kings;
" Streets, where the turban'd Moslem, bearded Jew,
" And woolly Afric, met the brown Hindoo;
" Where through each vein spontaneous plenty flowed,
" Where Wealth enjoyed, and Charity bestowed.
" Pensive and thoughtful shall the wanderers greet
" Each splended square, and still, untrodden street;
" Or of some crumbling turret, mined by time,
" The broken stair with perilous step shall climb,
" Thence stretch their view the wide horizon round,
" By scattered hamlets, trace its antient bound,
" And, choked no more with fleets, fair Thames survey
" Through reeds and sedge pursue his idle way.

" Oft shall the strangers turn their eager feet,
" The rich remains of antient art to greet,
" The pictured walls with critic eye explore,
" And Reynolds be what Raphael was before.

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" On spoils from every clime their eyes shall gaze,
' Egyptian granites and the Etruscan vase;
" And when midst fallen London, they survey
" The stone where Alexander's ashes lay,
" Shall own with humbled pride the lesson just
" By Time's slow finger written in the dust.

" There walks a Spirit o'er the peopled earth,
" Secret his progress is, unknown his birth;
" Moody and viewless as the changing wind,
" No force arrests his foot, no chains can bind;
" Where'er he turns, the human brute awakes,
" And, roused to better life, his sordid hut forsakes:
" He thinks, he reasons, glows with purer fires,
" Feels finer wants, and burns with new desires:
" Obedient Nature follows where he leads;
" The steaming marsh is changed to fruitful meads;
" The beasts retire from man's asserted reign,
" And prove his kingdom was not given in vain.
" Then from its bed is drawn the ponderous ore,
" Then commerce pours her gifts on every shore,
" Then Babel's towers and terraced gardens rise,
" And pointed Obelisks invade the skies;
" The Prince commands, in Tyrian purple drest,
" And Egypt's virgins weave the linen vest.
" Then spans the graceful arch the roaring tide,
" And stricter bounds the cultured fields divide.
" Then kindles Fancy, then expands the heart,
" Then blow the flowers of genius and of art;
" Saints, Heroes, Sages, who the land adorn,
" Seem rather to descend than to be born;
" Whilst History, midst the rolls consigned to fame
" With pen of adamant inscribes their name.

" The Genius now forsakes the favoured shore,
" And hates, capricious, what he loved before;

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" Then empires fall to dust, then arts decay,
" And wasted realms enfeebled despots sway;
" Even Nature's changed; without his fostering smile
" Ophir no gold, no plenty yields the Nile;
" The thirsty sand absords the useless rill,
" And spotted plagues from putrid fens distill,
" In desert solitudes then Tadmor sleeps,
" Stern Marius then o'er fallen Carthage weeps;
" Then with enthusiast love the pilgrim roves
" To seek his footsteps in forsaken groves,
" Explores the fractured arch, the ruined tower,
" Those limbs disjointed of gigantic power;
" Still at each step he dreads the adder's sting,
" The Arab's javelin, or the tiger's spring;
" With doubtful caution treads the echoing ground,
" And asks where Troy or Babylon is found.

" London exults:—on London art bestows
" Her summer ices and her winter rose;
" Gems of the East her mural crown adorn,
" And Plenty at her feet pours forth her horn;
" While even the exiles her just laws disclaim,
" People a continent, and build a name:
" August she sits, and with extended hands
" Holds forth the book of life to distant lands.

" But fairest flowers expand but to decay;
" The worm is in thy core, thy glories pass away;
" Arts, arms, and wealth, destroy the fruits they bring;
" Commerce, like beauty, knows no second spring.
" Crime walks thy streets, Fraud earns her unblest bread,
" O'er want and woe thy gorgeous robe is spread,
" And Angel charities in vain oppose:
" With grandeur's growth the mass of misery grows!"

1811.

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When every nation in Europe has been disciplined in such severe trials, what right have we to expect to be exempted? Would not analogy alone suggest it was probable we might undergo the same ordeal? Whether in a just or an unjust cause, have we not over exerted ourselves? And should we not expect to suffer? Let us not then be bloated with vanity, lest misfortune come upon us as a thief in the night: and let us remember, that the *last* drops in the cup of poison are generally the most deadly. Many a man follows a flowery path, ignorant of the abrupt precipice which terminates it. We have rapidly gone on in a state of apparent prosperity, till we have attained a summit of glory unheard of in mundane affairs; but it is the prosperity of the few, reared on the ruin and pauperism of the many; it is the glory of conquerors planted over the graves of uncounted victims of mad and murderous ambition—of the slavery of continents, and islands, and human beings. How long have other nations sat on such a giddy pinnacle of danger? Are we to expect such unexampled prosperity will endure for ever—that such a monopoly of trade can be for ever maintained? Is it consistent with the interest of the *world* that it should? The power of kingdoms is constantly ebbing and flowing like the waters of the ocean. Yet, to bear this immense burthen of debt, this "millstone round our necks," it is necessary that we do maintain this political ascendancy. Is not our financial system, public and private, founded on that fallacious expectation? The separation of North America has been a great happiness both to herself and this country; for, at that period, our debt was a mere trifle compared with the present amount. But now, such is its magnitude,

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that the insurrection of India, or the West-India islands (in the very focus of insurrection) would, by the confusion of property, unavoidably destroy public credit—that is, the character of the paper system. We are ever at the mercy of sedition and unforeseen accidents; some of which, if we still persevere in this course, will assuredly *suddenly* terminate our political existence; though, like Mr. Hume, I shall content myself with pointing out the event in general. Public credit in this country is such a frightful excrescence, it will not dissipate gradually: like a great tumour, it must either of itself suddenly burst, or the knife of the surgeon must extract it. We know that every powder-mill on Dartmouth-heath has one after another, exploded; consequently we may fairly expect those at present existing will share the same fate, though we cannot foresee when or where the spark will originate that will blow them up.

I shall now give a Statistical Map of the empire of GREAT BRITAIN, when we shall be able to perceive what are the political affinities necessary to preserve it entire, or what are those incongruities which will tend to produce a dissolution. It is taken from Dr. Colquhoun's "Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire," second edition, 1815. The references are to the different Tables in his work on which this general view is founded. *Vide annexed Map.*

Now, I put it to the understanding of any man of reflection, whether this little speck of land, comprising only 104,700 square miles, can in the present *revolutionary* era, long maintain her dominion over these immense countries in different parts of the

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globe, inhabited by people of all colours, of all characters, and with such a great disproportion between the numbers of the conquered and the conquerors?

To Dr. Colquhoun great credit is due for the laborious details and facts he has collected together; nor can great correctness be reasonably expected in such an arduous undertaking. But no work in the world was ever of so dangerous a tendency. It has flattered our weaknesses—it is calculated to render permanent all our vices—is a heap of sophisms—and, for inflated vanity, may challenge the publications of any country under the sun.

Was there ever any nation so glorified in herself? Dr. Colquhoun, in speaking of the alarm which has been excited in the minds of many very clever men on the rapidity with which the national debt has been increased, under an apprehension that there is a point beyond which the resources of the country cannot be extended, and that a general bankruptcy must ensue, thus introduces an estimate of the total value of the whole property of the empire:—

"As the estimates extend to national and individual property in every quarter of the globe where the British flag flies; from such a mass of information brought within so narrow a compass, where every table may be considered as in itself a history, a confident hope is entertained that they cannot fail to prove highly interesting to every British subject, contemplating as he must do the power and resources of the empire with *exultation*; while to foreign nations it must prove a matter of *wonder and astonishment*, calculated to produce the most *exalted* ideas of the *wealth, power, and grandeur of the British Empire*; since these estimates shew,

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1st.	That the value of landed and other public and private property in Great Britain and Ireland in sterling money, amounts to						£2,736,640,000
2nd.	That the	idem	idem	in	9 Dependencies in Europe,	idem	22,161,330
3rd.	That the	idem	idem	in	7 Colonies and Settlements, in North America,	idem	46,575,360
4th.	That the	idem	idem	in	14 Colonies and Settlements, in the West Indies,	idem	100,014,864
5th.	That the	idem	idem	in	14 Conquered Colonies in the West Indies,	idem	75,220,000
6th.	That the	idem	idem	in	4 Settlements in Africa	idem	4,770,500
7th.	That the	idem	idem	in	5 Settlements and Colonies in Asia	idem	38,721,090
	Total Colonies and Dependencies 53						£3,009,103,144
8th.	That the territory of India under the control and management of the East India Company, when the estimated value of the lands in cultivation is added to the public and private property, cannot amount to less than						£1,072,427,751
	Total estimated value of the landed and public and private property of the *British Empire in all parts of the world.*						£4,081,530,895

"Of this immense property the Colonies and Dependencies taken from the enemy during the late wars, exclusive of ships and other floating property *captured* since 1792 (by the Queen of the Ocean) amount by estimate to £106,917,190! The captures on sea and land may probably amount to fifty or sixty millions more."

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Dr. Colquhoun closes this chapter with the following eulogy.

"It exhibits in glowing colours the *proud height* "to which this *great* empire has arrived in the scale "of nations. It proves incontestably the *incalculable* "*resources* of the State, and the rapid growth of the "wealth of the people; and what is of more importance, the facility and power of rendering this "wealth productive to a greater extent than prevails *in any other nation in the world!!*" Yet in the midst of all these "splendid prospects," as the Dr. terms the contemplation of our resources, occurs the following sentence, p. 18. "But independently "of all these considerations, the circumstances under "which the West India colonies are placed, with a "coloured and black population in the proportion "comprising more than one million and fifty thousand under the control of about 100,000 whites, "of which not above one in four, or about 25,000 in "the whole, can be supposed capable of military duty, "evinces the policy of a more extended European "population. This observation applies both to the "British and the captured colonies.* In the "latter, the proportion of the Europeans is greater. "In the British Colonies, the white population is in "the proportion of somewhat less than 65,000 (including Jamaica) to 634,000. *Contemplating this* "*disparity, and the desire inherent in human nature* "*predisposing the strong to overpower the weak, it is*

* Since the publication of Dr. Colquhoun's work, Great Britain has acquired the Dutch colonies of Berbice, Demarara, and Essequibo, the population of which is estimated at 95,000.

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" *impossible to look forward to a period of fifty*
" *years without anticipating a negro government in all*
" *the West-India islands,* unless measures are
" gradually adopted for the purpose of encouraging
" and establishing a white population ! ! !"

This is what the Doctor says himself relative to the stability of our empire in the West Indies ! And, let me ask him, how long he expects the territorial possessions of the East-India Company to retain their permanent allegiance ? How long will a private company of merchants, sitting in Leadenhall Street, maintain their dominion over forty millions fifty thousand of human beings some thousand miles distant from the committee-room ; especially when it is known, that forty millions are natives, and about thirty thousand Europeans !

The ollowing was in 1814 the number of British and native subjects employed by the Company in maintaining this dominion :—

CIVIL SERVICE.

Persons either in the service of the Company or connected with and employed in their affairs in England.....		2,146
Persons in India employed in the Judicial, Clerical, Diplomatic, Commercial, Revenue Departments, &c....	1,056	
Seamen employed and reared in the Company's service, in 115 Ships, about	25,000	
		26,056
Carried over		28,202

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MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICE.

	Brought over	28,202
British military officers in the Company's service commanding European Troops	1,000	
British officers and cadets in the Company's service commanding Native Troops	3,000	
British Non-commissioned officers and Soldiers in the service of the Company	16,000	
		20,000
British officers in the Company's naval Department in India		113
Natives employed in various Departments in the Civil service of the Company	12,362	
Natives employed in the Indian Armies	140,000	
Natives employed in the Naval Service, estimated at about	800	
		153,162
Total employed to preserve the empire of India over 40 millions of Natives		201,477

We will now see what is the financial situation of this monopolizing company.

They have for years been engaged in the most murderous wars, and God only knows how many Europeans and natives have been sacrificed to the lust of dominion. The termination of the war with the Mahratta princes, which commenced in 1802, and continued until 1805, produced a very considerable addition to the territories of the Company; but this war, when coupled with the

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preceding contests with the Sultan of Mysore in 1792 and 1795, and the various expeditions fitted out by the Company in India against the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish Settlements in the East, and also an expedition to Egypt, obliged the Company to borrow large sums of money at 8, 9, 10, and even 12 per cent. which in May 1809, had accumulated to £30,812,441 sterling: in this sum however is included arrears and allowances due in the civil and military departments, amounting to £1,914,699, which leaves an adjusted balance (according to the Report of the select Committee of the House of Commons ordered to be printed June 21, 1811) of £28,897,742. So much for the funding system of the East India Company. The interest on this enormous debt, joined to the permanent increase of the military establishment, has not only deprived the Company of the annual sum allotted by act of Parliament for their commercial investments, but has also absorbed the territorial revenue, as appears by the following abstract, which Dr. Colquhoun has founded on the Parliamentary Reports in 1810, 1811, and 1812.

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		Sterling.
Gross revenues of Bengal		£11,788,036
Idem	Madras	5,376,881
Idem	Bombay	802,172
Idem	Prince of Wales's Island	75,406
Idem	Bencoolen	18,755
Idem	St. Helena	1,209
		18,061,478
Commercial Profits on an average of Exports 1807 and 1808, and Imports 1809 and 1810		1,692,732
Dividend on Bank Annuities		36,226
		£19,780,436

			Sterling.
Expences of the Bengal Establishment			£9,511,956
Idem	Madras ditto		5,211,957
Idem	Bombay ditto		1,932,685
Idem	Wales's Island ditto		166,084
Idem	Bencoolen ditto		77,005
Idem	St. Helena*		84,687
			£16,984,271
Establishment at Canton in China		43,066	
Interest of money due on bonds, dividends to Proprietors, and other expences in England		2,055,641	
		2,098,707	
Miscellaneous expences, comprising losses on outward and homeward voyages and Shipwrecks	£105,665		
Sums written off the books	27,142		
Loss on exchange	89,248		
Freight and salvage to owners	31,601		
Expences of keeping up dead stock abroad	58,345		
		312,001	
			2,410,708
Taken on average of years			19,394,079
Balance in favour of the Company			385,457
			£19,780,436

* I know not exactly what arrangement has been made with Government relative to the relinquishment of the island for the purpose of incarcerating the "Monster" But it certainly is the most expensive cage ever made.

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Since these details were collected, the trade to India has been somewhat thrown open by the Acts of 54th and 55th Geo. III. They permit British subjects to trade beween the United Kingdom and the limits of the Company's charter, and to any *intermediate port or place* situate in North and South America, (British colonies in America excepted) either directly or circuitously, provided they do not trade in tea, excepting also the dominions of the Emperor of China. By a previous Act (53rd.) the territorial acquisitions in India, with the late acquisitions on the continent of Asia, or in any island north of the Equator, are to remain in the government of the East India Company for twenty years longer, from the 10th of April 1814. The Company have also the exclusive monopoly of the trade to and from China for the like term of years. The inconsistency of the present ministry is truly ridiculous; and after for years opposing any opening of the India trade, they at length enact the 54th Geo. III. Dr. Colquhoun quotes the following speech of "a great and enlightened statesman," on the occasion. "*This co-*
"*pious, this inexhaustible* source of trading enter-
"prise must be available principally to the British
"people. To the merchants it would be *invaluable*;
"and if in the consumption of South America the in-
"dustry of the British manufacturer should establish,
"as we may justly hope, no unsuccessful competition
"even with that of his fellow subjects in Bengal, how
"much will the direct intercourse with that continent
"facilitate to him also the returns of such a trade.
"Those who understand Commerce, and the true
"principles of its wise administration, will know that
"all its interests are interwoven, all its branches in-

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" separably connected. It is the Union not of Com-
" merce with Government, but of Commerce with
" Commerce, that a provident Legislature will re-
" spect. Numerous are the commercial enterprises,
" which would be of small benefit if limited to the di-
" rect intercourse between one country and another,
" but which by intermediate or subsequent transactions
" in other markets and in distant regions, would be-
" come highly advantageous both to private and to
" national interests. It is with this view that I feel
" an *indescribable anxiety* to secure to our merchants
" a full participation, not of parts and portions only,
" *but of the whole Commerce of the East.* To the encou-
" ragement of such hopes, no moment was ever yet more
" favourable. The barrier of prejudice is shaken. *The*
" *spirit of monopoly is justly giving way** to juster
" principles of trade; and the change of public opi-
" nion in this country, is *seconded by the great revolu-*
" *tions in the world.* What a scene does this present
" to the imagination! We are told that when the
" Spanish discoverers first overcame, with labour and
" peril almost unspeakable, the mighty range of
" mountains which divides the Western from the
" Atlantic shores of South America, they stood fixed
" in silent admiration, gazing on the vast expanse
" of the Southern Ocean, which lay stretched before
" them in boundless prospect. They adored the gra-
" cious Providence, which after the lapse of so many
" centuries had opened to mankind so wonderful a
" field of unheard and unimagined enterprise. But

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* " I feel an indescribable anxiety to secure to our Merchants a full participation, not of parts and portions only, *but of the whole Commerce of the East!*"

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"theirs was the glory of conquest; the prey of un-
"just ambition. *As vast* as theirs; infinitely more
"honourable: far higher, both in purpose and re-
"compence, are the hopes with which the same
"prospects *elevate our hearts.*" One would think that this was another El Dorado vision. But Mr. "great and enlightened Statesman," theirs was not merely the glory of conquest, but was like yours—a lust for gold, a lust for colonies and slavery, and a lust for unjustifiable monopoly; and your dominion will probably end precisely in the way you hint—"the great revolutions" have terminated the Spanish power. After luxury and riches have destroyed the liberties of your own country—after you have impoverished it by vainly endeavouring to maintain lawless domination, then will yours be deemed the "glory of conquest," and "the prey of unjust ambition." Can this enlightened statesman for a moment think we shall long preserve such immense and distant countries in the four Continents and in New Holland? What reason has he to suppose, that which has happened to Spain and France* will not

* The progress of St. Domingo in civilization since the French were expelled has been most wonderful. A most interesting work has lately been published at Cape Henry, by the Baron do Vasty—a man of colour, and one of the ministers of King Christophe. The natives are remarkable for their polite demeanour and affability to strangers; and the humblest peasant salutes a white man with respect in passing. The rich are courteous, and evidently desirous of acquiring the good opinion of foreigners. The vigilance of the police exceeds that of any other island in the West Indies. Order and decorum are the prevailing features of society; and crimes are made rare by the most effectual means to prevent them. All the European refinements are being introduced, and Lancasterian schools are conducted by persons educated in this country. This able Statesman and Philosopher defends the blacks against the charges of the whites—he shews their inconsistencies, and refutes

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happen to us? And if it does happen, what becomes of Dr. Colquhoun's FOUR THOUSAND MILLIONS OF PROPERTY! Will it not vanish into air? And what becomes of our one thousand million of National Debt, increased to two thousand millions in vainly opposing independence? Will that not vanish into air? What becomes of our pre-eminent commerce—of our maritime ascendancy—of our subsidizing powers—of our "*copious*," "*inexhaustible*," "*invaluable*," "*vast*," and "*elevating wealth*"—of "our *incalculable resources*"—of "our wealth, productive to a greater extent than prevails

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them with an intelligence and power of reasoning which would not dishonour the literature of any country. But he must forgive me if I express my fears of the despotic power of his monarch, and if I wish success to the republican cause of Petion. "I have discovered (says he) such absurdities, falsehoods, and equivocations in Mazere's work (*a colonist who has written in defence of the Slave Trade, and against the black species,*) that I have been twenty times on the point of throwing down my pen, and abandoning him and his brethren to the profound contempt which they have inspired. I am a man! I feel it in all my being—I possess faculties, thought, reason, strength—I have every feeling of my sublime existence, and I feel humbled at being obliged to refute such puerilities, such idle sophisms, to prove to men like myself that I am their fellows. My soul, indignant at this excess of falsehood and irrationality, induces me, in my turn, to doubt the possibility of their being men, who could dare to discuss a question which is no less impious and immoral than absurd."

Great revolutions, before the lapse of another century will take place in the condition of a race so foolishly despised, and so wickedly maltreated.

Instances are by no means rare, of negroes, who have distinguished themselves in literature, and the arts, when favoured by fortune with opportunities of education and improvements. Boerhaave, De Haen, and Blumenbach have given the strongest testimonies. Lislet, Hannibal, Fuller, Madocks, Capitein, Ignatius Sancho, and Gustavus Vasa, are names well known in the mathematical and physical sciences, and in general literature. Many of them have graduated in European Universities with distinguished credit.

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in any other nation in the world." Shall we then exhibit in glowing colours the "*proud height*" to which this "*great empire*" has arrived? Shall we *then* glorify ourselves? Or will your fallen condition be a proverb and a bye-word among the nations as was the Babylon of old, "how hath the oppressor ceased! The golden city ceased! Thy pomp is brought down to the grave! How art thou fallen! How art thou cut down to the ground! Who didst weaken the nations; for thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down, and they that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms; that made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof?"

ENGLAND in 1798.—*By S. T. COLERIDGE.*

"The Monthly Magazine tells us, that this country has occasioned the death of 5,800,000 persons in Calabria, Russia, Poland, Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal. This country, reader, England! our country, our great, our glorious, our beloved country, according to this Magazine, has been the guilty cause of all this carnage!"—*Mr. Southey* apud *the Quarterly Review.*

We have offended, oh! my countrymen!
We have offended very grievously,
And been most tyrannous.
——Thankless too for peace;
(Peace long preserv'd by fleets and perilous seas)

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Secure from actual warfare, we have lov'd
To swell the war-whoop, passionate for war!
Alas! for ages ignorant of all
Its ghastlier workings (famine or blue plague,
Battle, or siege, or flight through wintry snows,)
We, this whole people, have been clamourous
For war and bloodshed; animating sports,
The which we pay for as a thing to talk of,
Spectators and not combatants! No guess
Anticipative of a wrong unfelt,
No speculation on contingency,
However dim and vague, too vague and dim
To yield a justifying cause; and forth
(Stuff'd out with big preamble, holy names,
And adjurations of the God in Heaven,)
We send our mandates for the certain death
Of thousands and ten thousands! Boys and girls,
And women, that would groan to see a child
Pull off an insect's leg, all read of war,
The best amusement for our morning's meal!
The poor wretch, who has learnt his only prayers
For curses, who knows scarcely words enough
To ask a blessing from his Heavenly Father,
Becomes a fluent phraseman, absolute
And technical in victories and deceit,
And all our dainty terms for fratricide;
Terms which we trundle smoothly o'er our tongues,
Like mere abstractions, empty sounds to which
We join no feeling and attach no form!
As if the soldier died without a wound;
As if the fibres of this godlike frame
Were gored without a pang; as if the wretch
Who fell in battle, doing bloody deeds,
Pass'd off to heaven, translated, and not killed;—
As though he had no wife to pine for him—
No God to judge him! Therefore, evil days

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Are coming on us; O my countrymen!
And what if all-avenging Providence,
Strong and retributive, should make known
The meaning of our words; force us to feel
The desolation and the agony
Of our fierce doings!

I have told,

O Britons! O my brethren! I have told
Most bitter truth, but without bitterness.
Nor deem my zeal, or factious, or mistimed:
For never can true courage dwell with them,
Who playing tricks with conscience, dare not look
At their own vices. We have been too long
Dupes of a deep delusion!—Others meanwhile,
Dote with a mad idolatry; and all
Who will not fall before their images,
And yield them worship, they are enemies
Even of their country!

Such have I been deem'd."*

S. T. C.

Now, I hope I shall not be prosecuted for sedition, if I again ask, Is it possible this population of sixty-two millions will suffer the boroughmongers, and the representation of eighteen thousand suffrages to control their interests? Especially to use the words of the great and enlightened statesman, under "the change of public opinion in this country, seconded by

* That he might be deemed so no longer, Mr. COLERIDGE soon after became passionate for war himself; and "swell'd the war-whoop" in the Morning Post. "I am not indeed silly enough," he says, "to take as any thing more than a violent hyperbole of party debate, Mr. Fox's assertion, that the late war (1802) was a war produced by the Morning Post; or I should be proud to have the words inscribed on my tomb."—Biographia Literaria, Vol. I. p. 212.

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the great revolutions of the world," will they not wish to trade for themselves with any nation they may think proper? Dr. Colquhoun assures the country, in fifty years the West India islands will have a negro government! Whenever this happens, that Downing Street appraiser must make another estimate of our wealth. Will it then be worth upwards of *two* thousand millions? No: when the thoroughfare is removed, the premises must proportionably sink in value.

But from this speculation, as to what *may* be the future state of this exalted country, let us see what, *according to Dr. Colquhoun's* statement, it really *is* at present. And the inconsistency and vanity of his eulogies will appear in their true light.

In chapter III. page 53, he resolves all the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts we enjoy, into the following divisions, proceeding entirely from the labour of the people employed in *agriculture, mines,* and *minerals;* in *manufactures* and *handicraft employments;* and in *trade, commerce, navigation,* and *fisheries.* He sets out with the following prefatory sentence:—"In contemplating the *peculiar* situation of the British empire, the mind is filled with *wonder and exultation,* by the results which the investigation discloses, while these results fully account for the astonishing resources which the British government has been found to possess, *far beyond any other nation in the world,* in proportion to the population from whence these resources are chiefly derived." The following is the "splendid" view of the estimated produce of the labour of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and the colonies and dependencies of the crown in 1812:—

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ESTIMATE

OF

Property created in Great Britain and Ireland in the year 1812-13.

	£	£
Agriculture in all its branches ...	216,817,624	
Mines and Minerals, including Coals, &c.....	9,000,000	
Manufactures in every branch.....	114,230,000	
Inland trade in all its branches ...	31,500,000	
Foreign Commerce and shipping...	46,373,748	
Coasting trade	2,000,000	
Fisheries exclusive of the Colonial Fisheries of Newfoundland	2,100,000	
Chartered and private Bankers ...	3,500,000	
Foreign income remitted	5,000,000	
		430,521,372
British and conquered Colonies and Dependencies.		
Fifty-three Colonies and Dependencies, annual produce of labour...	50,740,470	
Possessions in India, under the management of the Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.	211,966,494	
		262,706,964
	Total	693,228,336

The Agricultural labour is presumed to give employment and to afford support to 5,500,000 of the population of the kingdom.

Manufactures (impossible to contemplate without wonder and astonishment) employ and support 4,500,000. Inland trade, a species of traffic carried on by subjects of the same state, who are inhabitants of the same country; or, in other words, trademen

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who buy and sell commodities in the countries wherein they reside, support 2,000,000, including their families. Foreign Commerce, see page 71, "the details of which will be perused with *exultation and astonishment*, as having raised the country to a height of power and prosperity, *very far beyond any nation in the world*, give employment and support to 406,350; exhibiting an animated view of the *stupendous* height to which the commerce of Great Britain has arrived." However, the following table shews the whole divisions of *productive* and *unproductive* labour at one view:—

Productive Labourers, by whose exertions, a new Property is created every year.

	Families.	Persons.	Income.
Agriculture Mines, &c.	1,302,151,	6,129,142	£107,246,795
Foreign Commerce, Shipping, Trade, Fisheries, &c.	1,506,774,	7,071,989	183,908,352
Fine Arts	5,000	25,000	1,400,000
	2,813,925	13,226,131	£292,555,147

Unproductive Labourers, whose exertions do not create any new Property.

	Families.	Persons.	Income,
Royalty, Nobility, and Gentry.....	47,437	416,835	£58,923,590
State and Revenue Army, Navy, Half-Pay Pensioners	152,000	1,056,000	34,036,280
Clergy, Law, Physic...	56,000	281,500	17,580,000
Universities, Schools, Miscellaneous	45,319	567,937	17,555,355
Paupers, &c.	387,100	1,548,400	9,871,000
Total	687,856	3,870,672	£137,966,225

Published 1815.

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Thus it appears from Dr. Colquhoun's own statement, that more than one fifth part of the whole community are *unproductive* labourers, and that these labourers receive from the aggregate labour of the productive classes about *one third* part of the new property created annnually! And if Dr. Colquhoun admits* there were in 1814 above a million and a half of paupers, requiring for the mere keeping together of body and soul, near ten millions sterling, how many must there now be in 1817, and how much money is required for their support?

He says, (p. 111.) "In the annexed table, exhibiting a general view of society in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a melancholy, though it is to be feared, *a much under-rated* estimate is attempted, of the indigent and noxious classes, who compose part of the body politic, namely,—

Paupers in Great Britain & Ireland....	1,548,400
Vagrants, and vicious and criminal Individuals	308,741
Total.....	1,857,141

It is always of importance to get impartial evidence; for the depositions of the disinterested individual are always less prejudiced and more credible than those of the interested. *I* am writing to prove the infamous wickedness of the present system—he is writing to prove the "incalculable, wonderful,

* According to the return made to Parliament in the year 1803, the number of individuals who received parochial relief in England and Wales amounted to 1,040,716! and this on a population (according to a return made two years before) which only amounted to 9,343,561.

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elevating, and splendid effects of its invaluable and incalculable operations."

Dr. Colquhoun's own words shall prove my case, and disprove his own. "*It is at the same time* "*equally true, that every state is supported by the* "*poverty of the community composing the body* "*politic. Without a large proportion of poverty* "*there could be no riches in any country; since riches* "*are the offspring of labour, while labour can result* "*only from a state of poverty.*" page 110.

"These various measures, suggested for the pur-"pose of removing many of the evils which tend "in so great a degree to the corruption of morals, "and to the diminution of the productive labour of "the people, are detailed at considerable length in a "Treatise on Indigence, published in the year 1806, "when the improvement of the pauper system was "brought under the consideration of Parliament. "But the failure of that measure, *and the pressures* "*of the war, have suspended all objects connected* "*with the improvement of the morals of the people,* "*or the prevention of criminal offences.*" page 114.

"It is impossible to contemplate the *mass of de-*"*formity*, and the numerous blemishes which the "state of society exhibits, with respect *to the hordes* "*of dissolute and criminal individuals, who form so* "*considerable a proportion* of the body politic, with-"out exciting the deepest regret, that *no* legislative "attempt has been made to remove those blemishes "in the national police, by which so much misery and "criminality are generated, to the total exclusion "of that portion of comfort and happiness, attain-"able through the medium of sobriety, economy, and "productive industry. The period may not be far

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" distant, when a great accession to the resident
" population may be rendered unavoidable by the
" return of individuals, who, by long service in the
" army and navy, have lost those habits of industry,
" which are necessary to their subsistence."*

" *It is a melancholy truth, obvious to all who have*
" *devoted their attention to the manners and habits*
" *of the labouring classes, that they have retrograded*
" *in morals in the course of the last thirty years;*
" and that a considerable change has taken place in
" the state of society, (particularly in vulgar life,
" since the commencement of the French revolu-
" tionary war,) which has in a great degree disorga-
" nized every country in Europe." " It must be
" evident at the same time to those whose minds are
" directed to investigations of this nature, that those
" to whom it is assigned to *legislate* and to direct the
" affairs of government, are not sufficiently aware of
" the changes which are *rapidly* taking place." p. 116.

Now, no one will deny, that the immorality of the higher and ******* ranks, has kept pace with the immorality of the lower. Dr. Colquhoun, from his particular situation, well knows this fact; and though he does not choose to state it roundly, implies it by using the word "*particularly* in vulgar life." Immorality, it must be acknowledged by all parties, Tories, Whigs, and Reformers, tends to decrease *happiness* in this world and our expectancy of it in another—therefore Dr. Colquhoun, if immorality is

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* This class of society are not only a very immoral one, but it is not generally considered, that when disbanded, their labour is not wanted; the principles of population having previously filled up their former places. *See Malthus.*

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the result of riches and wars—if it be true that "without a large proportion of poverty there could be no *riches* in any country; since riches are the offspring of labour, while labour can result only from a state of poverty:"—if, as you state, such is the fact, *are not riches, and wars, and political ascendancy, contrary to the true interests of a Nation?* Why then is the contemplation of the present state of Great Britain such a theme of laudatory commendation? The Doctor however says it is *indigence*, and not poverty, that constitutes the chief burthen to which civil society is exposed—the state of any one who is destitute of the means of subsistence, and is unable to procure it by labour to the extent nature requires. "The natural source of subsistence is the labour of the individual, while that remains with him, he is denominated *poor*, when it fails, in whole or part, he becomes *indigent*. But it may happen, and does indeed frequently happen in civil life, that a man may have ability to work and cannot obtain it."

As might naturally be expected, Dr. Colquhoun, after enumerating the great portion of our society in "paupers, vagrants, gipsies, rogues, vagabonds, and idle and disorderly persons, supported by criminal delinquency," amounting to TWO MILLIONS of human beings, out of a gross population of seventeen. After enumerating these disgraceful facts, only surpassed by the state of indigence in the Neapolitan kingdom, he endeavours to discover and class the causes. The following is his exordium previous to the attempt. "As indigence is one of the *greatest* "calamities which can afflict civil society, since with "certain exceptions of physical inabilities, it ge-"nerates every thing that is *noxious*, *criminal*, and

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" *vicious* in the body politic; an enquiry into the " causes which produce these blemishes, peculiar to " civilized life in all countries, cannot fail to be as " useful as it is curious and interesting. Indigence " arises from causes which are either *innocent* or *cul-* " *pable*, and admits of a division into three classes."

As is very common with such party writers they frequently mistake the effect for the cause. He gives the following as the *causes*: all these which I think are *effects* I shall put in italics, and their causes (in my opinion) may always be traced up to the Borough-mongering, the Pittite, or the paper systems,—to any unjustifiable wars, standing armies, slavery, drinking, lottery gambling, and to all manner of vices, defended and patronised by certain persons.

1.

DR. COLQUHOUN'S INNOCENT CAUSES OF INDIGENCE IRREMEDIABLE.

1. *Insanity, incurable madness, and weak intellects.* Gin-shops, lotteries, and gun-shot wounds.

2. Persons born deaf and dumb.

3. *Blind, decrepit, and lame.* Egypt, Walcheren, and Copenhagen.

4. *Permanent inability to work.* Ditto.

5. *Orphan children left destitute.* Ditto.

6. *Infancy without support or protection.* Ditto.

7. Old age and *infirmity.* Ditto.

2.

REMEDIABLE INDIGENCE, REQUIRING PROPS TO RAISE IT TO ITS FORMER STATE OF INDEPENDENT POVERTY.

1. *Temporary loss of work.* Revulsion or transition of trade.

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2. *Absence from home in search of work.* Ditto.

3. *Inability to obtain work.* Ditto.

4. Performance of work separated from a family.

5. *Sudden discharge of bodies of labourers, handicrafts, or manufacturers, by the failure of employers, or temporary stagnation.* Breaking out of Peace.

6. Bodies of labourers discharged from canals and other public works when finished.

7. Gardeners, bricklayers, shoemakers, and other mechanics and labourers prevented from working during severe frosts.

8. *A general stagnation of manufactures.*

9. A scarcity or sudden advance of the necessaries of life.

10. *Wives and children of soldiers embarked on foreign service.*

11. *Wives and children of seaman and marines in the public service.*

12. *Soldiers, marines, seamen and militia discharged after war, and not getting immediate employment.*

13. *Servants out of place with good characters, but unable to obtain employment.*

14. Temporary sickness, where there is no surplus labour; very suspicious if a licensed gin-shop be near.

15. Lying-in expences and funerals.

16. Temporary lameness and inability to work for a time.

17. Loss of a husband with a wife and family.

18. Loss of a cow, pigs, or other useful animals.

19. Loss by fire or other casualty.

20. *Losses in trade, producing bankruptcy without fault or reproach.* Taxation.

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3.

CULPABLE CAUSES OF INDIGENCE.

1. *Vicious and immoral habits.* Army, navy, and riches.

2. *Idleness.*
3. *Laziness.*
4. *Indolence.*
5. *Sloth.*
6. *Carelessness.*
7. *Thoughtlessness.*
8. *Improvidence.*

} *Fermented liquors.*

9. *Prodigality*, in the Government.
10. *Unnecessary waste*, ditto.
11. *Want of frugal habits*, ditto.
12. *Want of economy and management*, ditto.
13. *Apathy and sottishness*
14. *Dissipation.*
15 *Habitual drunkenness*, somewhere practised to great excess, too well known to require naming.
16. *Abandoning a helpless family.*
17. *Trusting to parish maintenance;* vile poor laws.
18. *Wasting money in ale houses:* Licensing ditto.
19. *Making no provision for a family, having the means of making inadequate provision.*
20. *Servants losing character and place for bad behaviour, and fraudulent and pilfering practices.* Bad example in the drinking, gambling, and horse-racing of their masters.
21. *Female prostitution, producing deprivation of character, disease, and the loss of means of obtaining work.* Inability of young people to marry from taxation, &c.

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22. *Contracting debts without ability to pay.* Vicious example of the government.

23. *Fraudulent bankruptcy, and consequent loss of credit and consequence.* Capel-court, Stock Exchange.

24. *Systematic idleness, leading the life of gipsies, and others wandering as such, and assuming their manners.* Sinecures, Pensions, and useless places.

25. *Systematic criminality in all its numerous ramications, producing a total loss of character.* Universal practice from the lowest to the *******.

Such is Dr. Colquhoun's detail (with my annotations) of the various causes, "innocent and culpable," that produce the "blemishes and deformities" which are found to exist in the civil society of this matchless country of *Great* Britain and Ireland! And I ask of any candid person, if half a dozen of these causes exist in Switzerland or North America? Which then is the *greatest* country, and the most preferable situation for the poor?

But I must call more evidence as to the stability of the present order of things. The *Sun*, a daily evening paper of Court notoriety, on the 5th of August 1817, writes as follows:—"It is not the amount of the "National Debt, great as it is, which can destroy the "prosperity of Britain, since the interest paid to the "Stock-holders circulates like the small tributary "rivulets, which empty themselves into the Ocean, "from whence the water is taken up by evaporation "and water spouts to the clouds, from whence it is "again dropped upon the earth, to replenish the "springs, from whence the rivulets are derived: so "the interest of the National Debt goes into the "pockets of individuals for a moment, before it issues,

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" and again is put into circulation through the vari-
" ous modifications of industry. The small portion
" paid to foreigners, is like that part of an harvest
" actually consumed; whilst the great bulk remains
" (like seed corn) to furnish, by the germinating
" quality of money, means for the industrious to
" secure another crop. But there is an *increasing*
" *evil which is gnawing the heart-strings of the*
" nation—which threatens *universal distress*—which
" is already demoralizing the bulk of the population
" of England—and which, if a remedy is not *speedily*
" found for it, will bring the nation to that state of
" *ruin*, to which the levelling system of the mad
" followers of the Spencean principles would reduce
" it. Need POOR LAWS be mentioned, which have
" had an undoubted tendency to paralize industry—
" to engender indolence—to change independence of
" character into grovelling pauperism—and stimulate
" the poor to the *impudent* assumption of a right to
" be maintained in idleness, whilst the property of
" their richer, or the strength of their more indus-
" trious fellow subjects, shall remain equal to it.
" For the cure of this *gangrening system of demora-*
" *lization*, perhaps nothing will be effectual, but an
" entire abrogation of the statutes, with which the
" well-intentioned, the pious charity of our ancestors
" afflicted us, when they *mortgaged* property and
" industry for the maintenance of idleness. A general
" and effectual remedy must be devised, or the disease,
" which has already threatened its *vitality*, will
" entirely destroy the prosperity of the country!!!"

This is from a venal print who has mainly assisted in producing that gangrening evil by supporting the politics of Mr. Pitt—who, in the very same paper,

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quotes the price of the funds as a proof of the extraordinary and *increasing* prosperity of the country—who are detailing the orgies in celebration of the birth-day of their great idol till the anniversary again returns! This is the paper daily occupied in libelling the Catholics, in rekindling the fires of Smithfield, but studiously keeping out of view the number of Catholics who have been burnt by Protestants! And this wretched tool of a bigoted faction to talk of our "pious and well intentioned" catholic ancestor, *mortgaging!* Thou miserable print! knowest thou not that in the days of thy pious catholic ancestors there were no paupers save the old and infirm! What then will posterity say to your mortgaging? Oh! licentious print, if the poor laws are entirely abrogated what have the two millions of paupers to support them? Will they lie down and die think you? Is not *labour* equally the property of the poor, as the Boroughs are the property of the Borough-monger? Will saving banks or penitentiaries *reform* and find them employment?* You who have for years been contrasting this country with the

* The very principle of these institutions has been sacrificed by a most short sighted policy, for with a view to give them a greater encouragement at the present moment, an Act has been passed allowing persons to receive parish assistance at the discretion of the justices, although they may have funds of their own under a certain amount in a saving bank!!

To say that the poor have a *right* to labour and parish relief is perhaps saying too much; but following the mode of reasoning adopted by the Borough proprietors they certainly have. Reform has always been opposed on the ground that the representation as much belongs to the proprietors as any other part of the estate. And surely if that be the case, the paupers have an equal indefeasible right to the rates by prescription.

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country of the "usurper," the "monster," the "rascally" Ex-Emperor, Napoleon, read the following:

"There is no circumstance in French manners more highly "worth the consideration of the philosopher, the magistrate "and the legislator, than the extreme rarity of executions, "and the paucity of all sorts of offences militating against "the penal code. Frauds of address, and petty thefts of all "sorts, are less frequent in Paris, than in almost any of the "best governed towns in England. The streets of Paris at "all hours of the night, (and I do not only speak on the testimony of some veteran Parisians, but on individual experience, for I have returned from English and French balls "at very late hours) are perfectly safe and quiet; and "though the extreme vigilance of the municipal authorities "afford a powerful check upon general licentiousness and "nocturnal disorders, the only good point of view in which "indeed its tyrrannical influence *can be* favorably considered;—yet to this good order, the temperament of the "national character, ungoaded by the necessities of a commercial existence, and unstimulated by habitual inebriety "from spirituous potations, must still more effectively contribute. In France, and in its capital, the extremes of poverty and wealth are less distant, the habits of life are "more regular and abstemious than in England; and the "mildness, equality, and proportionate infliction of the penal "code, requiring neither temperament from royal clemency, "nor forbearance from individual prosecutors; *its punishments fall with certainty upon the offender, and are formidable, because they are not severe.* Atrocities against "nature, parricide, infanticide, &c. are rarely committed in "France; and that brutal and rapacious violence exercised "by those to whom popular language in England has given "the name of '*monsters*,' who stab, with wanton fury, "helpless women exposed to their horrible and unaccountable attacks, is so unknown in France, that when an anec-

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" dote of this nature was read before me, in a French society " from an English paper, it not only excited emotions of horror " and disgust, but was denied credibility by the greatest " number present as being out of nature and possibility."

Such is the moral condition of a country whose imperial legislator the *Sun* has denounced as the greatest villain and the greatest enemy of religion who ever cursed the earth. This is the country whom the Sun wishes to demoralize and debase by the government of the old *Catholic* family! What an inconceivable inconsistency! To be daily stirring up a fanatic persecution against an insignificant number of respectable native catholics, by every opprobrious epithet of anti-christian and damnable heresy—and at the same moment to support with all their might and fury the return of expiring catholicism in France, to support Louis and his family, who as long back as the year 1795, protested " that both duty and honour forbade his relaxing from the authority transmitted to him by his predecessors, and that he looked to nothing but the *restoration* of the *Catholic* religion, and the *ancient* constitution"—to support the legitimate rights of a few infatuated princes, whose motto and rule of conduct is "*tout ou rien*," all or nothing, and whom their countrymen well say, " have returned *chez eux*, and not *chez nous*!" This is the family who on its first return manifested the most impolitic avidity even by force and fraud to recover the confiscated national property —who in defiance of all charter and constitution, against the letter, and undeniably against the spirit of a solemn compact, on their second return proscribed and m.....d their unfortunate countrymen driven to the commission of treason by their own

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infamous breach of the laws and constitution—who in their wicked and impolitic m———r of Marshall Ney, by the severity of the punishment, cast a false glare over infamy and dishonour—whose missionaries have again blown up the flames of furious fanaticism—who are daily ordering expiatory acts of religion for those events upon which the national liberties had been founded—who are disgusting a nation of freethinkers in the revival of every absurd and superstitious ceremony, by rekindling the horrors of the late revolution in processions and funeral services for its unhappy victims,—who are digging up the very bones of the dead and insulting their countrymen with fasts and masses, and execrations of unhappy troubles, long since consigned to oblivion,—who are endowing convents, ridiculing the Deity with the puppet-show of the *fete dieu*, making the worship of God the very scoff and scorn of the people; racing through the streets with idols and graven images, and renewing every species of superstition and bigotry, and by every means in their power, fast exciting new revolutions and fresh terrors! This is what this English newspaper, the *Sun*, is daily upholding; such is its *real* hatred of protestantism, such its devotion to catholicism, which, in spite of Jesuits, inquisitions, processions, and an enslaved press, lies prostrate before the revolution!! I am willing however to except the Old King and the Duke of Orleans from these iniquities, who have certainly more enlightened and conciliatory views than their ..... family, were they permitted to follow them.

But from this digression to return to the STABILITY of *our own* moral and commercial character,

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how gloomy is the catalogue of crime! From the most bloody murders—from a mother violating, the instincts of nature in the murder of her offspring, to the lowest pilferings of the infant! In spite of the pillory and the stocks;—of steel-traps and spring guns set at every village corner; in defiance of the whippings and periodical punishment of death so frequent in the very heart of the metropolis: in contempt of the bands of military and police interseeting our island from one end to the other; how is every species of wickedness multiplying around us; how are prisons overflowing with delinquents, and new and expensive erections every where going forward. "Who does not see that the miserable, "and horrific experience of a sister country, is with "more than rapid steps approaching ourselves. And "is this the condition of our once happy land! "Surrounded by evils so alarming in their extent, so "ominous in their Portent! Events not brought "upon us by circumstances which human sagacity "could not foresee, nor human intelligence prevent. "Not inflicted in the dispensation of Heaven in Pes-"tilence, or Famine. But the offspring of principles "the most vicious, hateful and impolitic; counsels "ruinous, and absurd; and a pertinacity in error the "most frantic: originating in a total disregard of "every liberal and just policy, as it regards our "foreign relations, and a dereliction of that equal "legislation on which our community can alone rest.

"From such contemplations we avert. From the "voice of fear much less of dismay. In this crisis we "with confidence would approach your Royal High-"ness. Sir, we seek the re-establishment of lost "commerce: the cultivation of remaining resources,

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" and more, the revival of those eternal principles of " Justice, from which we have lapsed—the cause of " all misfortune. We invite your Royal Highness to " concur, in every practicable manner, in plans to " insure the European tranquility, in which we are so " much involved; the abstaining from all undue in- " terference to prop up what is arbitrary and despotic " in foreign states; that our nation may hope for the " favour of Divine Providence, in whose hands is the " well being of Empires. We come, Sir, that our " community be restored. Oppressive taxes on the " necessaries of life, removed; the millions of our " fellow subjects, now sustained in whole, or in part, " by the parish rate, replaced in the situation from " whence they have been driven in our British Society, " and which can alone consist with the security of " our free country: that for this their means of inde- " pendence be re-assured; their cottages and gar- " dens restored."

The Laity.

An intelligent writer (Mr. Ruggles) in speaking of former periods remarks, "the luxuries of life were hitherto but little, if at all, known among the poor; no deleterious snuff, or tobacco, no debilitating tea, no liquid fire, commonly called gin, or spirits; those banes of health and morals, those sure destroyers of the constitutions of the present, and of the rising generations. But neither punishments will intimidate from wrong, nor will rewards allure to right, while seduction, in the semblance of articles of excise, strides with an unbounded step through this devoted country; while the financier and the moralist, the pulpit and the treasury, are at variance; and the defalcation of revenue, by a decrease of drunkenness,

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is more dreaded by the government, than bad morals and a dissolute people. If ale houses must preserve their ubiquity, if the village must be hot beds of seduction, partake of the vices of a populous town, the populous town of an overgrown metropolis, because the treasury coffers require replenishing; in vain are all our endeavours to promote morality; she will disappear from among us, and debauchery with his companions, will take her place: it has been the case, it is so now, and the effects are visible throughout the land, *although the remote but certain consequences are not yet attended to*; here should the determined patriot strike, at this he should aim the strength of his eloquence ------ the million who, whatever administration rules, must live, and ought to live comfortably; let the true patriot give them the chance of living soberly, by exciting the legislature to remove from their too easy grasp, the temptation to vice; that being done, they will live industriously, and become a benefit, not a burthen to the community."

Mr. Donaldson states, "that a species of slavery exists in England nearly of the same nature as the feudal vasallage in Russia and other parts of the continent. Can, says he, that country be free where the great body of the people are bound to reside in the particular spots where they were born? Yet this is certainly the case in England. The peasantry of the present day are bound by laws, enacted long before they were born, to confine themselves to their own parish; and if perchance they emigrate to a strange country, although perhaps only to the adjoining parish, they are not only prevented from exercising the rights of citizens, but when there is the least prospect of their becoming burdensome to

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the inhabitants, they are hunted home like a parcel of strayed sheep that had overleaped the inclosures in which they were confined." Why not, he asks, permit the poor to seek a livelihood wherever work offers or inclination leads them? In place of being subjected to be taken up as vagrants, if found out of their own parish (as strayed beasts are pounded by the way side,) a parish in which they cannot find employment; would it not be for the interest of the community were they permitted to go where they could render essential service to the public, and where they have a certainty of supporting themselves and their families, without being reduced to the necessity of making a mortifying application to an unfeeling parish officer? But while the laws of parish settlements remain on their present footing, let Englishmen, while they boast of the liberty they enjoy, reflect on these, and they will find that they accord not with genuine liberty: that wherever such laws are in force, rational liberty must be considered in shackles. In the present poor houses the paupers are frequently huddled together like blacks in a slave ship. The young, the unfortunate, and persons of weak and insane minds are corrupted by the sight of every species of vice and deception, a general contamination of morals take place; and these pest holes are the nurseries of re-iterated profligacies and increased pauperism.

The total sum expended in lawsuits, removal of paupers, journeys and expences of overseers of the poor &c. in England for the year ending 20th March 1815 amounted to £287,695. 4s. 3d! Nearly two thirds the whole amount of the public revenue, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth who enacted the principal Poor Laws!

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What is the use of those *select* committees of the Honourable House to inquire into the state of the Poor *Laws*? What good can they effect, unless the Honourable House inquire into the *causes* of the pauperism? What physician thinks of prescribing a remedy before he has discovered the cause and situation of the disease? And how little the wisdom of the Honorable House is disposed to inquire into this part of the case, appears from a motion brought forward by Mr. Brougham March 13, 1817, on the state of the nation. Mr. Brougham in a most eloquent and masterly speech, exposed the disgraceful system by which ministers sacrifice commerce to their Anti-British policy. Among other *facts* it appeared, that 4770 vessels or 826,000 tons, were employed less in 1816 than in 1817—that of 2360 cloth-dressers in the West Riding, but one third had full work, that, of 84,000 persons in the Birmingham trade, 27,500 were now paupers, the poor-rates of Birmingham being more than 60,000—that half a million of cotton weavers were reduced to three shillings or four shillings per week, that fifty per cent added to the duties on sugars had lowered the amount from 2-3-qr. millions to 2-$\frac{1}{2}$ millions, that the late enormous duties on glass had diminished the produce, that South America opened a market for relief, but was not used, from a respect to legitimacy—and that a *profitable* trade could not revive while subject to the restrictions and imposts of the present inordinate revenues. Mr. Rose, (who, and whose family, have one time or other received as much public money, as at compound interest, would have endowed a saving bank with half a million,) in reply, stated that the iron trade had improved from £2,176,000 in 1814, to £3,081,000 in

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1816, and Lord Castlereagh (once a furious Jacobin, but now principal secretary of state) maintained there was no indication of any great decline in our exports!!! Mr. Brougham's troublesome motion was at length got rid of, by Mr. Frederick Robinson moving an *amendment* "That this Honourable House do pass to the other *orders of the day*;"* which satisfactory arrangement was carried by a majority of one hundred and eighteen to a minority of sixty-three!

The Courier of 11th August in criticising Mr. Owen's plan, says, "we shall say little. Many such plans have in different ages, been offered to the world. It co-operates with the theory of the Spenceans; a theory, derided but carried into practice by the poor laws. The Spencean system has been treated with great contempt on account of its absurdity; yet a reference to facts will shew that this absurd theory does at present regulate the practise of the country as enjoined by law in a degree truly formidable. The poor are at this moment in actual possession of full *one-fifth* of the real estate of the country.† They have it: and they are far stronger in the admitted right, than in the actual possession. But the greatest evil consists in the sort of people the possession makes them. Half-fed, degraded, discontent follows, sourness of disposition and disaffection to the Government." As long as the Honourable House in their select committees take ex-party evidence, that will

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* When an Irishman does not wish to answer an awkward question, he puts another in lieu thereof.

† *Query.* What proportion of the remainder is the National Creditor in possession of?

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be another insurmountable reason against their arriving at any wise conclusions.

Mr. Southey subpœnaed.

Mr. Southey, according to his own account, in a letter to Mr. Smith, Member for Norwich, is a private individual residing on the banks of one of the Cumberland lakes in the bosom of his family, in absolute retirement. But Mr. Southey, you are also a *public* character; and after writing a popular poem, Wat Tyler, you have accepted the most public office in the kingdom, that of poet laureat to, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent! Yes, by a very singular sort of sympathy *you* have, notwithstanding *your* early predilections, diametrically altered your modes of thinking, speaking, writing, and acting. From devotion to the principles of Mr. Fox, *you* have "ratted" to those of Mr. Pitt. The respect due to the Chief Magistrate of the realms requires that I should ascribe to his motives, sincerity and wisdom! The laws regarding High Treason would prevent me suggesting others were I so inclined; but however, such is the known honour and probity of his Royal Highness, both in his public and domestic character, that he must indeed be a base man who could by any insidious reflections endeavour to undermine his deserved popularity with a "happy and grateful people." But you, Mr. Southey, have by your tergiversations, by being a pensioner on the public purse, by your income as Poet Laureat, and by your writings on the "right side," scraped together a very tolerable income. And these wages your opponents have unfortunately adduced on a late occasion when you were denounced a renegade and apostate. These two epithets were applied to you in a British House of Commons. With

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befitting indignation, worthy a better cause, you repel them in exceeding wrath—as a staunch supporter of the Ministry, you call yourself a patriot, as a zealous bigot of the Church, you vaunt yourself an Apostle: and you assert "that in this age of personality you have abstained from satire." Let us see how you have defended your reputation, and what is *your* opinion on the *stability of* this Great Empire. You may say that assassin-like, I am under an anonymous name, stabbing an innocent private individual. But Mr. Southey, I am not attacking an innocent person, nor am I attacking a private individual; and by the same right that you viciously and anonymously have repeatedly attacked the principles and characters of the Reformers, (among whom I have the honour to rank,) by that same right do I attack you without informing you who your antagonist is. But I do not call you a revolutionary miscreant, a cut-throat, jacobin, or an atheist, or a deist; no, nor a renegade, nor an apostate. I do not attack your *private* character, for no one would more cheerfully bear witness to the generosity and integrity *of your* domestic character, but I must pronounce your public labours as those of an hired and insincere supporter of an unprincipled faction. As however I have summoned you to the trial, I must find a character as to your judgment and credibility. Nothing, 'tis said, is so provoking as the officiousness of an injudicious friend. Mr. Coleridge, (for whom I believe you entertain in common with all parties no small contempt) was the person who has so unluckily torn you from your retirement, and assaulted your reputation, in his new work, Biographia Literaria. Juvenal writes, "Nihil est quod credere de se, non possit." And I dare say

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you won't reject hyperbolies of praise; but in the next forthcoming review we shall see the compliment returned in a phial of ointment poured over the Sibylline* verses, to make them flow easy to the public. This reciprocal suavity always reminds me of two asses on the wild heath, who scratching one another seem to say, "You scratch me, I scratch you." The Courier copied it on the 3rd of July; but I can only give a few select extracts.

"He (Mr. Southey) stands second to no man, either as "an historian or as a bibliographer; and when I (Mr. "Coleridge) regard him as a popular essayist, I look in vain "for any writer who has conveyed so much information, "from so many and such *recondite* sources, with so many "just and original reflections, in a style so *lively* and "*poignant*, yet so uniformly classical and conspicuous; "any one, in short, who has combined so much wisdom "with so much wit; so much *truth* and knowledge with "so much life and fancy. His prose is *always intelligible*, "and always entertaining. There are men who deserve "a higher record; men with whose character it is the "interest of their cotemporaries, no less than of posterity, "to be made acquainted; while it is yet possible for "impartial censure, and even for quick-sighted envy, to "cross-examine the tale without offence to the courtesies "of humanity; and while the eulogist, detected in ex-"aggeration or falsehood, must pay the full penalty of his "baseness, in the contempt which brands the *convicted* "*flatterer*."—"He inspires all that ease of mind on those

* Sibyllæ. "Certain *old women*," says Pliny, "inspired by heaven, whose prophecies are quite incomprehensible." When the capital of Rome was burnt in the troubles of Sylla, the Sibylline verses, which were deposited there, perished in the conflagration!

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" around him, which *perfect consistency*, (and, if such a " word might be framed) absolute *reliability*, equally in " small and great concerns, cannot but inspire and bestow. " I know few men who so well deserve the character which " an ancient attributes to Marcus Cato, namely, that he was " likest virtue, in as much as he seemed to act right, not in " obedience to any law or outward motive, but by the " necessity of a happy nature, which could not act other- " wise. As a writer, he has uniformly made his talents " subservient to the best interest of humanity, public " virtue, and domestic piety; his cause has ever been the " cause of pure religion and liberty, of *national indepen-* " *dence*, and of national illumination. Future critics will " not fail to record, that quacks in education, quacks in " politics, and quacks in criticism, were his only enemies.*"

Excellent bathos! Most goodly collection of vowels and consonants. What! The Poet Laureat like Milton and Marcus Cato the Stoic! Like the rigid Roman—the staunch supporter of *republican* liberty; so great a lover of discipline, that in whatever office he was employed, he always reformed its abuses, and restored its ancient regulations! Robert Southey, the servant of the Prince Regent, like Marcus Cato, of whom it is narrated that he was so displeased with the importuning civilities of King Dejotarus when at his court, that he hastened away from his presence! The friends are worse than the foes; I should as soon have thought of comparing the Laureat to Cataline or Lord Thurlow. Let us, however, observe the reliability to be placed in Mr. Southey's judgment as to the moral and political stabi-

* It is very currently reported, that this same Robert Southey, (author of Wat Tyler) is about to become Editor of the Courier!

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lity of Great Britain, and as to the number and loyalty of the indigent.

" Greater changes in the condition of the country " have been wrought during the last half century, than an " equal course of years had ever before produced. Without " entering into the proofs of this proposition, suffice it to " indicate, as among the most efficient *causes*, the steam and " the spinning engines, the *mail coach*, and the free publi- " cation of the *debates* in Parliament; hence follow, in " natural and necessary consequences, increased activity, " enterprize, *wealth*, and power; but, on the other hand, " *greediness of gain, looseness of principle, half* knowledge, " (more perilous than ignorance) vice, *poverty*, wretched- " ness, disaffection, and POLITICAL INSECURITY."— Southey's Letter to Mr. W. Smith, M. P.

So it seems, most sapient laureat—much greediness of gain, looseness of principle, and half knowledge, must have guided your pen in the following sentences from page 30 :—

" Slavery has long since ceased to be tolerable in Europe: " the remains of feudal oppression are disappearing even " in those countries which have improved the least: *nor* " *can it be much longer endured*, that the extremes of " ignorance and wretchedness, and brutality, should exist " in the very centre of civilized society. There can be " *no safety* with a populace, half Luddite, half Lazzaroni!! " Let us not deceive ourselves. We are far from that state " in which anything resembling equality would be possible, " but *we are arrived at that state in which the extremes of* " *inequality are become intolerable.* They are too dan- " gerous, as well as too monstrous, to be borne much " longer.* Plans which would have led to the utmost hor-

* " The taxes, which are levied to pay the interests of these debts, are apt either to heighten the price of, or be an oppression

" rors of insurrection have been prevented by the govern-
" ment, and by the enactment of strong but necessary
" laws. Let it however be supposed that the disease is
" healed, because the ulcer may skim over. The remedies
" by which the body politic can be restored to health, must
" be slow in their operation. The condition of the popu-
" lace, physical, moral, and intellectual, *must* be improved,
" or a *Jacquerie*, a *Bellum servile*, sooner or later will be
" the result. IT IS THE PEOPLE AT THIS TIME
" WHO STAND IN NEED OF REFORMATION,
" NOT THE GOVERNMENT.* The government must
" better the condition of the populace; and the first thing
" necessary is to prevent it from being *worsened*. It must
" curb the seditious *press*, and keep it curbed. This is
" the first and indispensable measure; for, without this,
" ALL others will be fruitless. Next in urgency, is the
" immediate relief of the poor. I differ *toto cœlo* from Mr.
" Owen of Lanark. To build upon any other foundation
" than that of religion, is building on sand. To employ
" the poor in manufactures is only shifting the evil, and
" throwing others out of employ, by bringing more labour,
" and more produce of labour, into a market which is
" already overstocked. Wise and extensive plans of foreign
" colonies, contribute essentially to keep a state like
" England in health; but we must not overlook the greater

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to the poorer sort, These taxes being all mortgaged, what difficulty to find new ones! What vexation and ruin of the poor! We have always found, where a Government has mortgaged all its revenues, that it necessarily sinks into a state of languor, inactivity, and impotence." Mr. Hume.

* See back—the contrary opinion of Lord Clarendon, Sir Wm. Temple, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Carteret, Lord Cambden, Mr. Burke, Sir G. Saville, Duke of Richmond, Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Pitt, and the late petitions from a million and half of the people! How small the laureat seems.

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" facility of colonizing at home. Tracts of waste land " should be purchased with public money, to be held as " national domains, and colonized with our disbanded " soldiers and sailors. They must be trained in the way " they should go: they must be taught to 'fear God and " keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty " of man:' they must be instructed according to the " *established* religion—*they must be fed with the milk of* " *sound doctrine;* for states are only *secure* in proportion " as the great body of the people are attached to the in- " stitutions of their country. Let *Saving Banks* be gene- " rally introduced—let new channels of industry be open- " ed, by colonizing our waste lands at home, and regularly " sending off our swarms abroad, and the strength, wealth, " and security of the nation will be in proportion to its " members. Never, indeed, was there a more *senseless* cry " than that which is at this time raised for retrenchment*

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* How the master and the servant differ! From the prorogation of Parliament, July 12, we may contrast the Laureat's opinion on retrenchment, and the loyalty of the population (one half Lazzaroni and the other half Luddites) with the opinion of the Honourable House, and the Regent.

The Speaker addressed His Royal Highness as follows:—" In conformity with your R. H's recommendation at the commencement of the Session, we took such steps as seemed best calculated to insure a full and serious *investigation* into the public income and expenditure. That investigation has continued throughout the Session: from that investigation much has been done—much unquestionably remains to be done; but we trust we are justified in the conviction, that in *easing our expenditure,* by what the real interests of the empire may require, no apprehension need be entertained as to the STABILITY of the resources..... If this Session has not been marked with that brilliancy and splendour which has characterised former Sessions, yet we have the conscious satisfaction to reflect, that having had great duties to perform, to the performance of those duties we have applied a most *faithful* and indefatigable attention." (Query. *Where were four hundred and fifty of the Honourable Members on Mr. Brougham's*

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" in the public expenditure, as a means of alleviating the " present distress. Every where there are mouths crying " out for food because the hands want work; and at this " time, and for this reason, the state quack requires farther " reduction. Because so many hands are unemployed, he " calls upon government to throw more upon the public, " by reducing its establishment, and suspending the public " works. *O lepidum caput!* And is it by such heads as " these that we are to be reformed? Burke's opinion on " national expenditure is strikingly corroborated [one " apostate quotes another!] by the unexampled prosperity " enjoyed during the war—a war of unexampled expendi- " ture. Instead, therefore, of this senseless cry for re- " trenchment, which is like prescribing depletion for a " patient whose complaints proceed from inanition, a

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important motion to inquire into the state of the Nation?) " Sir, the Bill, which it is my duty humbly to present to your Royal Highness, is entitled 'An act for applying certain monies therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1817; and for further appropriation of the supplies granted in this Session of Parliament,' to which, with all humility, we pray his Majesty's Royal Assent."

The Royal Assent having been given in due form, the Regent then delivered his speech, of which the following is an extract. " My Lords and Gentlemen—The diligence with which you have applied yourselves to the *consideration* of the different objects which I recommended to your attention at the commencement of the Session, demands my warmest acknowledgements. I have had the satisfaction of receiving the *most decisive proofs of the loyalty and public spirit* OF THE GREAT BODY OF THE PEOPLE, and the patience with which they have sustained the most severe temporary distress, cannot be too highly commended. The state of public credit affords a decisive proof of the wisdom and *expediency* under all the present circumstances of those financial arrangements which you have adopted. I have reason to believe that the deficiency in the revenue is in a great degree to be ascribed to the unfavourable state of the last season, and I look forward with sanguine expectations to its gradual improvement."

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" liberal expenditure should be advised in works of public
" utility and magnificence. The wealth which is taken
" from the people returns to them again, like vapours which
" are drawn imperceptibly from the earth, but distributed
" to it in refreshing dews and fertilizing showers."

This is something like the vapourings of that bright luminary, the Sun, lately quoted. The letter must surely have been conceived, before the mists had deserted the mountain tops. And so this state poet-taster acknowledges, that states are only secure in proportion as the great body of the people are attached to the institutions of their country. And pray how are the great bulk of the people in this country attached to the boroughmongering system? Do tythes cement the friendship of the laity for their clergy? Do the Game Laws (for the preservation of wild animals and the extinction of the human species) attach us to the Landholders? Had the English country gentlemen any love for their country—any respect for the morals of their fellow-creatures, they would destroy every hare and partridge on their estates, as our ancestors exterminated wolves, sooner than encourage such a horrible and wicked temptation to crime and oppression. The old French game laws are said to have been no secondary cause of the revolution. Does Mr. Southey think that the civil capacity of magistrates is compatible with the christian ministry? That it is quite consistent for the Vicar to pray for the personal happiness and security of his flock on Sunday, and the next day commit them to prison for catching a hare with a piece of wire? Does the Laureat conceive, that after all their grievances have been perpetuated, their complaints disregarded, that they will relish his *Carmen Tri-*

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emphale? The people must be educated in the Madras schools—the British Lancasterian plan, though patronized by the King, is quite ineffectual, although out of two hundred thousand pupils, scarcely one has been brought to the bar of his country! The press is to be curbed—probably the Laureat wants the place of Censor! Lord help us if he attains it! Farewell Edinburgh Review — farewell Morning Chronicle — Black Dwarf, and Cobbett, and Mr. Bentham. Although even the most barbarous feudal countries have been wonderfully improved and civilized, yet the one half of our population are paupers, and the other half disaffected house-breakers!—" the extremes of ignorance, wickedness, and brutality prevail!" The immediate relief of the poor is a most urgent and indispensable measure—they must be fed with the milk of sound *doctrine*—the ravenous hunger of their stomachs is to be satisfied with puritannical gas! The Laureat even surpasses the prescriptions of his co-pastor, so well known by the vulgar appellation of Dr. Slop. He talks of colonizing foreign colonies, as an old woman dilates on smarming and hiving young bees! Though the gains of the manufacturer are almost destroyed by excessive taxation, we are to tax yet more, that he may employ more people—we are to go on spending! What would this poet have? We do colonize—we stocked North America; we have lately sent more than two thousand *emigrants* to Botany Bay: thirty more of them on their passage the other day in the *Chapman*, were *shot* by the troops, (48th regiment) before their mutinous attempts to return were subdued! The poor want to stay at home; the history of the Brazils does not tempt them to emigrate! We do spend

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money: *New* South Wales, or Botany Bay, has cost the people, from its establishment in the year 1787 to 1814, the trifling sum of £2,700,000! And great numbers more, at the recommendation of his majesty's judges, are meditating a visit to the Blue mountains—some for seven, some for fourteen years, and others life! And, if we enjoyed such an unexampled state of prosperity during war, why wait for the Holy Alliance to declare war—why wait for an enemy? Declare war against the ice mountains at the North Pole—send a thousand sail of the line—fire at a post—fire at anything—storm the tower, or the bank, and build them up again! Anything to create a demand for war instruments. The laureat wants a drain to carry away the exuberant population. What, has not Spain annually relieved us of a great many—did not Waterloo thin our ranks—how many were blown up in Canada and at New Orleans—Why should not we cut our own throats publicly; many do it private every week? He quotes Burke, who somewhere says, "the prosperity and improvement of nations has generally increased with the increase of their revenue, and they will both continue to grow and flourish, as long as the balance between what is collected for the common efforts of the state, bear to each other a due reciprocal proportion, and are kept in close correspondence and communication." The poet himself writes, "Government should take heed lest, in its solicitude for raising the necessary revenue, there should be too little regard for the means by which it is raised. It should beware of imposing such duties as create a strong temptation to evade them." Yet this profound legislator advises an increase, though he well knows the consumption of ten has

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fallen off many million lbs.—though he well knows the annual expence of preventing smuggling, amounts to an enormous sum—though he daily sees accounts of murderous engagements between revenue cutters and smugglers—and though he knows that the poor Irishmen are frequently shot by the excise officers, in defending their illegal stills! He advises the government to spend more, when, notwithstanding the barefaced lies of the Courier on the 5th of April, and the confused statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the decrease of the *funded* debt, he knows the customs have decreased every quarter the last year!

But Mr. Southey does not even preserve common decency in his inconsistency; for, while in his letter to Mr. Smith he is giving so gloomy a picture of the country, contradicting the Regent as to the loyalty of the great body of the people, and urging the government to increase its expenditure—this same Robert Southey and his colleagues are writing in *Anti*-Cobbett and the Quarterly Review—asserting, the country has been saved by Mr. Pitt—that no government ever was so rooted in the hearts of the *people*—that the ministers *have* very wisely retrenched—that the poor *never* at any period of our history were so well off—that the wealth of the country has wonderfully increased—that distress is vanishing, and that we shall soon see all things righted!!! The Poet Laureat, in this age of personality, tells Mr. William Smith he is the instrument "of wretches, the panders of malice, and the pioneers of rebellion! Poet Laureat, thou art an illiberal turncoat, the pander of corruption, and the pioneer of despotism. Mr. Robert Southey, self-convicted hireling,

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adieu. For the sake of humanity, may'st thou never again be dragged from thy "absolute retirement"—and may the sale of thy convicted flatterer's contemptible trash ease thee of the care and expence of his wife and children, which in these bad times must be a great bore, and of itself sufficient to sour the sweetest disposition in the world. May the people reform themselves—and the Government too.

As for the Quarterly Review and brother Gifford, and their terrorist account of Reform, as the "Rise and Progress of Popular Disaffection," I shall not waste time in exposing their purulence, or badness of morals. People are too apt to judge of others by themselves: I shall return their own bullet.—"We "have too much respect for the judicious part of our "readers to employ their time upon this topic, and "too little hope of the factious, to misspend our own "in attempting to produce an effect upon scurrilous "hearts and distempered intelects. There is an "admirable print among George Wither's Emblems, "having for its motto, *Cœcus nil luce juvatur*: it "represents an owl standing, in broad sunshine, "with spectacles on its beak, a lighted candle on "each side, and a blazing torch in each claw; and "the more light there is the less is the owl able to "see. No happier emblem could be conceived for "a thorough-paced *corruptionist** of the present "day—

'For what are lights, to those who blinded be,
Or who so blind as they who cannot see?'"

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* By an unaccountable error in the press, the Printer's devil had put *opposionist*, in page 512, No. XXXII.

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Such are the depositions of the government writers on the state of things produced by the adoption of their own principles the last thirty years. Such is the character of the advocates. Does it not stand to reason that new men and new measures should be now tried—that a *radical* change be effected? TAXATION is the SOLE cause of the average pauperism and vice. They will never be removed till taxation is removed; they will continually increase as long as that taxation subsists, and though we may shut our eyes for a time to the true cause, sooner or later we must acknowledge it, and must either destroy it, or it will destroy us. To use the words of Mr. Hume, if ministers and their adherents persist in this atrocious and deluded mode of governing the nation, "it must finally be one of these two events! either the nation must destroy public credit, or public credit will destroy the nation."

I shall conclude this part of the subject with the following extract from the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the state of the Poor Laws.

"The gradual increase which has taken place, both in "the number of paupers, and in the assessments for their "support, can hardly fail to have arisen from causes in- "herent in the system itself, as it does not appear to have "depended entirely upon any temporary or local circum- "stances. Scarcity of provisions, and a diminished de- "mand for particular manufactures, have occasioned, from "time to time, an inward pressure in particular parishes, "and at no former times in so great a degree as during the "early part of the present year. But, by comparing the "assessments in the two counties in this kingdom, in "which the largest portion of the population is employed "in agriculture, namely, Bedfordshire and Herefordshire,

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"it will be seen that there has been the same progressive "augmentation to the amount of the assessments as may "be observed to have taken place in the manufacturing "counties. *County of Hereford.*—Money expended on "paupers in the year ending Easter, 1776, £19,593 7s. 2d. "Medium average of the annual expenditure on account "of paupers in the years ending Easter 1783, 1784, 1785, "£16,727 18s. 2d. Expenditure on paupers in the year "ending Easter 1803, £48,067 8s. 10d. Expenditure on "paupers in the year ending March 25, 1815, £59,255 "19s. 0d. *County of Bedford.*—Money expended on "paupers in the year ending Easter, 1776, £16,662 17s. 1d. "Medium average of annual expenditure on account of "paupers in the years ending Easter, 1783, 1784, 1785, "£20,977 0s. 11d. Expenditure on paupers in the year "ending March 25, 1815, £50,370 10s. 11d."

"What number of years, under the *existing laws and* "*management* would probably elapse, and to what amount "the assessments *might possibly* be augmented before the "utmost limitation would be reached, cannot be accurately "ascertained; but with regard to the first, your committee "think it their duty to point, that *many circumstances* which, "in the earlier periods of the system, rendered its progress "slow, are now unfortunately changed. With regard to the "second point, namely, the probable amount beyond which "the assessments cannot be augmented, your commissioners "have again to lament, that the returns collected in 1816, are "not yet before them in detail, and there are no means of "ascertaining with sufficient accuracy, either the amount of "the rates now assessed, or the gross rental of the property "on which they are levied. Whatever indeed that may be, "it appears to be certain that the landowners and the farmers "would cease to have an adequate interest in continuing the "cultivation of the land, long before the gross amount of the "present rental could be transferred to the poor rates.

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" The consequences which are likely to result from this state " of things, are clearly set forth in the petition from the " parish of Wombridge in Salop, which *is* fast approaching " to this state. The petitioners state, 'that the annual " value of land, mines, and houses in this parish is not suffi- " cient to maintain the numerous and increasing poor, " even if the same were to be set free of rent, and that their " circumstances will *inevitably* compel the occupiers of lands " and mines to relinquish them, and the poor will be without " relief, or any known mode of obtaining it, unless some " assistance be *speedily* afforded them. And your committee " apprehend, from the petitions before them, *that it is one* " *only of many* parishes that are fast approaching to a state " of *dereliction*.* Your committee forbear to expatiate on " these considerations, which have pressed themselves on " their attention; they have said enough to shew the grounds " which induce them to think, that the labouring classes can " only be plunged deeper and more hopelessly into the evils " of pauperism, by the constant application of additional " sums of money to be distributed by the poor-rate; true " benevolence and real charity point to other means, which " your committee cannot so well express as in the emphatic " language of Mr. Burke—'Patience, labour, frugality, so- " briety, and religion should be recommended to them—all " the rest is downright fraud.' "

An admirable recipe! But let the gentlemen of the select committee, and of the honourable house, set it forth in their own conduct, private and public. Let them listen to and redress the grievances of the people, rather than accuse them of impudent and ignorant impatience: let them preserve and improve the constitution, instead of talking about its "fundamental features;" let them provide work for the people, and the people will *labour*; and as for fru-

* Dereliction—"an utter forsaking or leaving!"—Johnson's Dict.

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gality, let them set the example of it in the management of the public monies; let them be rather more sparing of it on themselves; let them not sacrifice the morals of the people for "expediency;" let them put public-houses and wine-vaults under proper regulations, and not encourage tipling for the sake of the Excise; let certain higher orders set an example of *sobriety*, where it is so notoriously disregarded both in eating and drinking; let the honourable house radically alter the mode of remunerating Clergymen, let them repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and then, and not till then, will *religion* be cultivated with success.

In the private transactions of individuals, as regards debtor and creditor, it is surely most unwise to make that distinction which at present exists between the members of the legislature, and the commoners or voters. Why the higher classes should be exempted from the common laws, rendering us amenable for private debts, I can conceive no substantial reason. Surely the public services of those who are not honest in their private dealings, can be of little value to the country. A breach of integrity should be visited upon *them* with more than common severity, and the present distinction is encouraging to that disregard of pecuniary honesty, for which the aristocracy is notorious. If a nobleman or member of the House of Commons will not live within his own income, is it to be expected he will oblige the Ministers to curtail the Public expenditure? And amongst other purposes for which I have known a seat in the Honourable house purchased or procured, has been for preserving the personal security of the buyer from a seat in the King's Bench. The Honourable gentlemen

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who are so deficient in honour and judgment as to contract debts, should lose the privileges of their situation; by which wholesome regulation, many noble families would have been saved great disgrace and ruin, and the Public much of that excessive taxation which hangs like a "millstone round our necks." I should also suggest another wholesome alteration—not an *innovation*, that the house do return to its ancient rational hours of meeting, which my Lord Clarendon remarks were between eight and twelve in the forenoon: their decisions might then be less influenced by the repletion of Treasury dinners. Such is the moral and prosperous state of the country at large, as drawn from the *confessions* of those men who contend its resources never were so inexhaustible or *stable!* Most of these confessions relate to its condition two years since; I have not adduced any in proof of the present enormous increase of vice and misery, as I certainly acknowledge some portion of it is temporary; but at the same time, I contend, these evils will nevertheless increase until they overwhelm us, unless a radical change in the mode of administrating public affairs takes place.

I must however take a view of the Metropolis, which, in such a commercial nation, is always a proof of its general condition. Being the seat of Government, the rendezvous of the nobility and gentry, it will always afford a sample of our moral and pecuniary situation; and in this kingdom it comprehends more than an eighteenth part of the whole population. For this purpose, I shall again call up Dr. Colquhoun to be cross-examined. However much I may differ from him as to the STABILITY of our riches, yet as a most active and upright magistrate, he is enti-

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tled to our respect and gratitude; and in his work on the police of London, has boldly exposed the vices of the great, as well as those of the Poor; and has suggested improvements of the penal code, which shew some symptoms of an enlightened mind.

On the Metropolis.

"It is certain that national debts cause a mighty confluence of people and riches to the capital, by the great sums levied in the provinces to pay the interest; and perhaps, too, by the advantages in trade above mentioned, which they give the merchants in the capital above the rest of the kingdom. The question is, whether, in our case, it be for the public interest, that so many privileges should be conferred on London, which has already arrived at such an enormous size? Some men are apprehensive of the consequences."——*Mr. Hume.*

Dr. Colquhoun on the Police of London, sixth edition, 1806, writes:—

"When it is known that THIS GREAT CITY (*unparalleled, as will be hereafter shewn, in extent and opulence, through the whole habitable globe*) comprehends, besides London, Westminster, and Southwark, no less than forty-five villages, now exceedingly enlarged, independent of a vast accession of buildings upon the open fields in the vicinity, it becomes less a matter of surprise, to learn that it extends to eight miles in length, is three miles at least in breadth, and not less than twenty six in circumference; containing above 8000 streets, lanes, alleys, and courts, and sixty five different squares, in which are more than 160,000 houses, warehouses, and other build-

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" ings, besides churches and chapels. *Chap.* 19, *p.* 565.
" While we deplore the miserable condition of those nume-
" rous delinquents who have unfortunately multiplied,
" *with the same rapidity* that the great wealth of the metro-
" polis has increased—while their errors and their crimes
" are exposed only for the purposes of amendment, while
" the tear of pity is due to their forlorn state, a *prospect*
" happily opens through the medium of the Report of the
" *Select* Committee of the House of Commons, for the
" adoption of those remedies which will unquestionably
" give a seasonable check to immorality and delinquency."
Advertisement to the first ed. of 1800.

We shall now see how far this *Report* of the *Select* Committee had the effect, which Dr. Colquhoun thought it "unquestionably" would have. In his preface to the edition of 1806 (from which I extract all the following details) the Dr. writes as follows:

" It may naturally be imagined, that such an *accumula-*
" *tion* of delinquency systematically detailed, and placed
" in so prominent a point of view, must excite a consider-
" able degree of astonishment in the minds of those readers
" who have not been familiar with subjects of this nature;
" and hence a desire may be excited to investigate how far
" the *amazing* extent of the depredations upon the public
" here related, can be reconciled to reason and possibility.
" Four years, however elapsed, since these details were
" before the public, and they still stand on their original
" ground, without any attempt which has come to the
" author's knowledge, to question the magnitude, or the
" extent of the evil—on the contrary, new sources of fraud
" and depredation have been brought forward, tending
" greatly to *increase* the general mass of delinquency.
" Police in this country may be considered as a *new science.*
" Under the present circumstances of insecurity with res-
" pect to property, and even life itself. . . . . In re-

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" vising the present edition, the author felt a strong impulse " to reduce his estimates; but after an attentive review of " the whole, excepting in the instances of the depredations " on commercial property, (diminished by a marine police) " he was unable to perceive any ground for materially alter- " ing his original calculations.—If some classes of theft, " robbery, and depredation, have been reduced, others " have been augmented; still leaving the aggregate nearly " as before."

" The enlarged state of society, the vast extent of moving " property, and the *unexampled wealth* of the metropolis, " joined to the *depraved* habits and loose conduct of *a great* " *proportion* of the lower classes of the people; and above " all, the want of an appropriate police applicable to the " object of prevention, will, after a careful perusal of this " work, reconcile the attentive mind to a belief of the ac- " tual existence of evils, which could not otherwise have " been credited.—Let it be remembered also, that this " metropolis is *unquestionably not only the greatest manu-* " *facturing and commercial city in the world,* but also the " general receptacle for the idle and depraved of almost " every country; particularly from every quarter of the " dominions of the Crown, where the temptations and " resources of the criminal pleasures, gambling, fraud, and " depredation, *almost exceed imagination;* since, besides " being the seat of Government, it is the centre of fashion, " amusements, dissipation, and folly. Under such peculiar " circumstances, while immorality, licentiousness, and " crimes, *are known to advance in proportion to the exces-* " *sive accumulation of wealth,* it cannot fail to be a matter " of deep regret, that in the progressive increase of the " latter, the means of checking the rapid strides of the " former, have not been sooner discovered and applied."

Since this was published, another Report from another Select Committee has lately made its appearance,

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unfolding new iniquities, and shewing the corrupt and infamous conduct of many of those very magistrates, who were appointed guardians of the public morals. And the great increase of the criminal calendar, with the late discovery of those miscreant wretches, the police officers, who for the sake of the rewards, seduced and betrayed the ignorant Irishmen, afford a most humiliating picture of British morality.

"This prosperity can only be of short duration, if public "morals are neglected, if no check is given to the growing "depravity which prevails, and if measures are not adopted "to guard the rising generation against the evil examples to "which they are exposed." "An impression, it is to be "hoped, is generally felt from the example of the Roman "government, when enveloped in riches and luxury, that "*national prosperity must be of short duration* when public "morals are too long neglected, and no effectual remedy is "adopted for the purpose either of checking the alarming "growth of depravity, or of guarding the rising generation "against evil examples."

"For the purpose of elucidating in some degree the dread-"ful effect of the profligacy and wickedness which have been "opened to the view of the reader, and occasioned the per-"petration of crimes and offences of every species and de-"nomination; the following estimate has been made up from "information through a variety of channels." p. 608.

The estimate shews, that the amount of pilfered property annually is upwards of *two millions*. And, after a lapse of four years since this calculation was made, Dr. Colquhoun says, it had certainly not diminished.

"The foregoing estimate, grounded on the best informa-"tion that can be procured, exhibits a melancholy pic-"ture of the general depravity which prevails; and which

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" is heightened in a considerable degree by the reflection, " that among the perpetrators of the crimes there particu- " larised, are to be numbered persons, who from their " rank and situation in life, would scarcely be suspected of " either committing or *conniving* at frauds, for the purpose " of enriching themselves at the expense of the nation."

He estimates the quantity of Beer, Porter, Gin, and Compounds sold in public houses in London and its environs, at nearly £3,300,000 annually. The number of publicans and *pawnbrokers* is almost incredible; and he mentions, that there are upwards of *three thousand* receivers of stolen goods. He asserts that some years since, there were from *two to three thousand* persons committed annually, the greater number afterwards returned upon society—that many hundreds are acquitted, or not prosecuted, from the impolitic severity of the law operating on the humane dispositions of their prosecutors! "It is a melancholy truth" says Judge Blackstone, "that among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY have been declared by Act of Parliament to be felonies without benefit of clergy; or in other words, to be worthy of instant death!"

Dr. Colquhoun remarks :—

" One great evil arises from the laws as they now stand, " relative to punishments. Their extreme severity, in " rendering such a multitude of crimes capital, which ju- " ries can never be made to believe are of that nature, in " point of actual atrocity, has proved a very serious mis- " fortune to the country, in the administration of criminal " justice.—Because the punishment is too severe, it fre- " quently happens, that the delinquent is sent back upon " society, encouraged to renew his depredations upon the

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" public, by his having escaped (although guilty) without " any chastisement at all;" " the dread of severe punish- " ment, in the manner the law is executed at present, has " not the least effect in deterring hardened offenders from " the commission of crime."

We bid fair to imitate the character of Draco, who boasted that he punished all offences with death; because small crimes deserved it, and he could find no higher punishment for the greatest. Not many months have elapsed since nine wretches were executed in one week in the metropolis; seven of them, including a woman, were put to death in one day; and so many weeks after their condemnation, that the greater part of the mob were ignorant of the very crimes, for the prevention of which, they were supposed to have been sacrificed. "The Roman Empire," says Dr. Colquhoun, "never flourished so much as during the æra of the Portian Law, which abrogated the punishment of death for all offences whatsoever. When severe Punishments and an incorrect Police were afterwards revived, *the Empire fell.*" From returns which are to be found in the Secretary of State's office, it appears, that in the year 1805, there were three hundred and fifty persons who received sentence of death, and of whom only sixty eight were executed, not quite a fifth part of the number; in the year 1806, three hundred and twenty five received sentence of death, of whom fifty seven were executed; and in 1807, the number was three hundred and forty three, of whom there were executed sixty three! Mr. Hume in his introduction to the Commentaries on the Law of Scotland says, that on an average of thirty years preceding the year 1797, the executions for all Scotland, had not exceed-

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ed six in a year; and that one quarter sessions for the single town of Manchester, had sent more felons to the plantations, than all the Scotch Judges had done in a twelvemonth. From 1802 to 1808 inclusive, there have been printed, under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, regular tables of the number of persons convicted capitally, and of those on whom the law has been executed; and from these we find, that in London and Middlesex, the numbers are as follow:—

	Convicted.	Executed.	
In 1802	97	10	about 3-19th.
1803	81	9	1-9th.
1804	66	8	1-9th.
1805	63	10	1-6th.
1806	60	13	1-5th.
1807	74	14	1-5th.
1808	87	3	1-29th.
Total	528	67	rather more than 1-8th.

The Calendar of the late Lancashire assizes (Sept. 1817) contained the names of 101 prisoners! No less than *thirty seven* received *sentence of death*; six for *murders* of the blackest description.

In almost every county the criminal calendars have been doubled within the last three years; but what relative proportion of capital punishments have been inflicted, I have not the means of ascertaining. The Bank of England (whom the *Courier* calls the "*Great Mother of the System,*") and her offspring alone, have executed more people for forgery, than half Europe in the same time for every species of crime! How little it has had the desired effect, is notorious

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to the whole country. And a foreign writer remarking on the English system of colonizing with criminals, writes; "It is not the best mode of colonizing; nor having adopted it, do they manage it in the best manner. Of all crimes, there should seem to be none for which change of climate is so effectual a cure as for forgery; and as there are none which involves in itself so little moral depravity, nor which is so frequently committed; it is evident that these needless executions deprive New South Wales of those who would be its most useful members, men of ingenuity, less depraved, and better educated in general, than any other convicts." A mass of perjury is created by this impolitic severity; Juries daily forswear themselves at the suggestion of the dignified Judges; and to save the life of an unfortunate criminal, they will find a verdict of thirty nine shillings, when a ten pound note was found on the thief; which forswearing, Blackstone, somewhere calls "a *pious perjury!*"*

How little amendment has been affected by the wise and benevolent exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly in the House of Commons, is deeply regretted by every enlightened well wisher of his country. Much effect has been produced on the Public mind, by Mr. Basil Montagu's publications; but so bigoted are the Boroughmongers to their favourite operation of penal laws "in terrorem," and so feelingly alive are the alarmists to all innovations, that the cause is now almost as hopeless as the expectation of seeing Lord Ellenborough President of the Society for the abolition of

* How the whole nation periodically perjure themselves, is justly condemned in Mr. Bentham's Pamphlet on Oaths.

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the capital punishments, or the expectation of Christianity emanating from that Holy Alliance which some few years since most generously partitioned Poland.

Dr. Colquhoun's description of the infamy and horrors generated by the Public Lottery, is almost past belief. He reprobates it in the strongest terms of indignation. What good has this exposure produced? The resources of the country must indeed be at a low ebb, to induce those persons, generally believed the most religious part of the community, to continue for the sake of the public revenue a species of wickedness, which has for years disgraced our national character. Dr. Colquhoun says, he has been told that the Lottery and gambling transactions of one individual only in this great city, are productive of from *ten to fifteen suicides* annually! The *Right Honourable* the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. *Nicholas* Vansittart, may burst into a flood of tears at a sermon on the efficacy of faith, but he must be a crocodile indeed, who, the very next morning, can put his warrant to a Lottery scheme: *his* religion I am sure can be little better than that of the Temple of the eight winds, and he must have a monstrous degree of assurance, to go down to the house at night, and complain of the vice and illegality of "*little go's*," while his great go, (sanctioned by the honourable house) is so good a precedent for the swindlers.*

* I would refer a certain spurious species of self-named Christians to the following scriptural texts. FAITH—insignificant without good works, 1 Cor. xiii. 2; Gal. v. 6; James ii. 14—examples of it, Heb. xi. *Semper sola libera est virtus.* Cic. Virtue only is ever free. And it is therefore a Machiavelian maxim, that *If you can but debauch a man's morals, you make sure of him as a slave.* Milton says "Ignorant and wicked men are naturally lovers of licentiousness, and haters of true liberty.

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I beg I may here be understood merely to refer to the Exchequer Chancellor's public character; for his private virtues, I, in common with many others entertain great respect. Yet am I at a great loss to imagine how these religiously inclined, *sincere* and *good* men, can reconcile to their consciences their public conduct. How can they connive at such iniquities? How can they lend themselves to the creation of so much vice? But when we consider how much of the Public money, the THIRTEEN Personages, who compose the cabinet, swallow annually under the name of *salaries, (independent of the indefinable emoluments which result from other sources of gain,)* amounting to £124,000, can we any longer wonder that the love of place, in these men, should supersede every more exalted consideration? Can we any longer be astonished that they should oppose all reform tending to enforce economy and retrenchment?

Earl of Liverpool.

Constable of Dover Castle	£4,100	£13,100
Lord of the Treasury	4,000	
Commissioner for the affairs of India	1,500	
Clerk of the Pells in Ireland	3,500	

Lord Eldon.

Lord High Chancellor	15,000	18,000
Speaker of the House of Lords	3,000	

Earl of Westmoreland.

Lord Privy Seal	3,000

Earl of Harrowby.

President of the Council	4,000

Viscount Sidmouth.

Secretary of State for the home department	6,000	7,500
Commissioner for the affairs of India	1,500	

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Viscount Castlereagh.

Principal Secretary of State	6,000	7,500
Commissioner for the affairs of India ...	1,500	

Earl Bathurst.

Clerk of the Crown Court of Chancery...	1,610	30,000
Secretary at War	6,000	
Commissioner of the affairs of India	1,500	
As Teller of the Exchequer, more than...	20,000	

Mr. Vansittart.

Chancellor of the Exchequer	2,600	7,500
Lord of the Treasury	1,600	
Commissioner of the affairs of India.....	1,500	
Under Treasurer of the Exchequer	1,800	

Viscount Melville.

Keeper of Privy Seal of Scotland.....	3,000	10,900
Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal	2,894	
First Lord of the Admiralty	5,000	

Mr. Canning.

President of Board of Controul	4,000

Right Hon. Charles Bathurst.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	4,525

Earl of Mulgrave.

Master General of the Ordnance	3,160

Right Hon. W. W. Pole.

Master of the Mint in England	10,350

Thus do these aforesaid thirteen persons (most of them men of large hereditary property) receive annually more of the public money than the total amount of the Poor rates of the Counties of Hereford and Bedford!!! I mentioned that they had certain indefinable emoluments independent of this regular pay; such for example, as Lord Castlereagh's "*eighteen presents*," in *two* years ending 5th January, 1816, which at the usual estimate of £1000 each, amounts to £18,000; add to which, his two special missions to

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the Continent, estimated at £40,000. He is also a Lord of Trade and Foreign Plantations, Governor of the county of Londonderry, and an official Trustee of the British Museum!! Such also as Mr. Canning's Job to Lisbon, and the Lord Chancellor's Court Fees. His Lordship bitterly complains of the hundreds of bankrupt causes, but does his Lordship reflect that no one has more mainly contributed to cause them than his own support of the Pitt Principles? There is also another point to be considered; I mean the numberless emoluments and places bestowed on their relations and friends—the Ambassadorships, Titles, Governorships of Colonies, Stamp distributors, Receiver-generalships, Commissaryships, Contracts, Loans, Army and Navy commands, Law-offices, Church preferment, and every species of gain, usually trucked in exchange for *parliamentary interest*. These thirteen cabinet ministers have more than thirteen times the sum paid to the president or chief magistrate of the United States of America!

That shameless sinecurist, Mr. George Rose, sen. was a few months since sufficiently exposed: he and his sons receive yearly near twelve thousand pounds. It has been calculated, that this greedy family have for the last thirty years pocketed upwards of three hundred thousand pounds, principal money. A great number of the places are entailed upon their posterity, and yet, as Mr. Cobbett said, no Mr. Malthus has the impudence to propose the passing of a law to prevent any of this family from marrying! Thus this *one* borough-mongering family have received what would annually have supported nearly a *thousand* of the labouring poor.

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But to return to Dr. Colquhoun, and the lottery! He says:

"When such infamous practices are encouraged and "sanctioned by high sounding names,—when sharpers and "black-legs find an easy introduction into the houses of per-"sons of fashion, who assemble in multitudes together for "the purpose of playing at those most odious and detestable "games of hazard which the Legislature has stigmatized "with such marks of reprobation, it is time for the civil "magistrate to step forward. The examples of the great and "opulent operate most powerfully among the tribe of menial "servants they employ; and these carry with them into the "lower ranks that spirit of gambling and dissipation which "they have practised in the course of their servitude: thus "producing consequences of a most alarming nature to the "general interests of the community."

A "*little go*," in an obscure alley in Wapping, is destroyed with extraordinary alacrity and vengeance. Wherefore is it the legislature do not notice the notorious gambling at Newmarket? Or why does not the Prince Regent, in his speech from the throne, notice to those members of the Honourable House who patronize the turf, the corrupting influence on the manners of the lower orders? Why does not his Royal Highness reprobate those temptations, whose low-lived and *dis*honourable influence has once upon a time disgraced the character of some of the *highest* personages in the State? Why are the people only to be accused and punished for gambling? What individual of the three estates was it who "*pigeoned*" Lord K. and the Earl of A. and who was it, who, after "plucking" the M. of W. procured him a place to make up the deficiency? The Greeks are to be promoted to the highest possible

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honours, but the Helots banished to Botany Bay! Riches (says King Solomon) are the root of all evil! Much has been said by Mr. Owen on the demoralization of the lower orders, but I cannot see that their demoralization has kept pace with that of their superiors. The body of the people never were so well educated, they never before shewed so much good sense and patient endurance of sufferings, and the extraordinary quantity of crime, and pauperism, and misery, which exists, is owing entirely to the bad Government and bad example of the higher orders. The sins of the people are the sins of the Government. And I am quite certain that were they otherwise governed, vice and misery would in these very enlightened ages, annually subside. Much has been lately said of Mr. Malthus's theory, and of a *redundancy* of population! To whom are we to ascribe that redundancy of population? To the principles of Mr. Pitt, which, by accumulating an unnatural and fictitious capital, have given an unnatural impulse to trade, and occasioned a demand for labour which could not be maintained by a fair and regular trade; and by continuing a system of poor laws, which has increased rather than diminished these evils. Population may have a tendency to press against the means of subsistence.—I do not dispute it, as some people foolishly do, on the ground of its being an imputation on the benevolence of the Deity, for why should it be so regarded, more than any other natural evil? But I assert, that the Almighty has also given the power of counteracting any such tendency; and I contend, were there fewer wars, were the whole body of the people educated, and did their superiors set them a better moral example, and discourage all

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vice, that the *moral* check of Mr. Malthus would be quite sufficient without any acts of parliament, or any artificial means being applied to curtail natural rights or the dictates of nature. Mr. Malthus has produced a series of undeniable facts to prove the progressive geometrical increase of mankind under certain circumstances where the means of supporting life are in great superfluity; but human beings do not and cannot increase in that ratio in a highly populated country, nor are any other checks necessary to restrain this tendency within proper bounds than the moral check of calculation and religion. If ever the world should become so overstocked, as some ludicrously dread, then I think will the Deity put an end to this edition of the globe.

But to resume our inquiry into the moral condition of the metropolis. Dr. Colquhoun closes his remarks on gambling:

"In contemplating these *vast* establishments of regular "and systematic fraud and depredation upon the Public, in "all the hideous forms which they assume, nothing is so "much to be lamented, as the unconquerable spirit which "draws such a multitude of the lower ranks of society into "the vortex of the lottery." p. 143. "TWENTY THOU-"SAND *miserable* individuals of various classes, rise up "every morning, without knowing how, or by what means "they are to be supported during the passing day; or where "in many instances, they are to lodge the succeeding night." p. 313.

Dr. Colquhoun says there were forty thousand persons annually arrested in the kingdom! What can be said for the jurisprudence of that Empire which frequently sends Plaintiff as well as Defendant to goal?

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In another part of his work this writer asserts that there are FIFTY THOUSAND females living in a state of *Prostitution*, the greater part of them entirely dependent on the wages of their depravity!!! This is a melancholy fact unparalleled in the history of any country.

"To prevent its existence," says he, "even to a considerable extent, *in so great a metropolis* as London, is as impossible as to resist the torrent of the tides;" "but it now disgraces our public streets in open day, in a manner unknown to former times." "By proscribing rules, the Legislature has done every thing already short of this to effect the object; but instead of promoting good, the evil has increased, and it is much to be lamented, is daily *increasing*.—Instead of the walks of prostitutes being confined as formerly to one or two leading streets in Westminster, they are now to be found in every part of the Metropolis—where the dangers arising from seduction are the greatest, they abound the most of all of late years." p. 337.

It is a fact notorious to the whole City, that few modest women dare move out alone, for fear of being insulted, either by the profligate of their own sex, or the indecent solicitations of the other.

In a petition lately presented from the Inhabitants and Householders of the City of London, it was stated—

"Your Petitioners would, also, represent to your Honourable House, that so offensive and grossly indecent is the conduct of Prostitutes in the streets, that *in no country*, perhaps, is public decency so openly insulted as in this metropolis, as is manifest from the surprise and disgust expressed by foreigners, at what they witness and are exposed to in our streets. Hence, also, even at noon-day, virtuous females are constantly subject to have their delicacy wounded, and their minds polluted, by the immodest

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" language and behaviour of profligate women."..... " Your petitioners therefore most humbly and most seriously " submit to your Honourable House, whether our public " streets ought any longer to be suffered to remain so demo- " ralized, as to render them nearly unfit to be traversed by " our wives and daughters, by our sons and servants? " Whether this moral *pestilence*, which now stalks abroad at " noon-day, ought not to be driven to the gross darkness " which befits it? Whether our prisons are to continue mul- " tiplying and enlarging, by the multiplication of crimes and " culprits, without an axe being put to one of the most pro- " lific roots of these evils? Whether, in fine, the appearance " and behaviour of prostitutes in our streets shall continue to " disgrace a Christian city, or such humane, salutary, and " efficient laws be provided, and such an active and vigorous " system of police be established, as shall render this metro- " polis as distinguished for its public decency and decorum " as it already stands *pre-eminent* for its extent, its wealth, " and its manufactures."

I know this is an evil which to a certain extent will always prevail; but much of the present excess is to be ascribed to the *political* measures of late years which have increased the quantity and viciousness of the amount. If there is a woman who feels for the honour of her degraded sex—if there is one who justly appreciates that noble virtue of chastity in which alone consists all that is honourable, and dignified, and intellectual; which alone preserves that rank she was destined by her Creator to occupy in the disinterested and generous affections of man, let her join with me in deprecating a system which is destroying the finest virtues of the human heart. Let her reflect on those herds of abandoned monsters, inured in the practices of infamy and dishonour, who, while the wretched victims of outraged innocence are

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condemned to ignominious shame, are themselves still prowling about with impunity, and experiencing no difference in the reception they meet with from society—let her reflect on the base arts of seduction, which are daily practising to supply the extraordinary havoc which premature death, the most loathsome diseases, and frequent suicides are constantly making!*

The great number of charitable institutions supported by voluntary contributions, though a most gratifying sign of extraordinary benevolence is nevertheless a most convincing proof of the necessities of the lower orders. Dr. Colquhoun estimates the whole amount for assisting the poor of London under indigence and disease as upwards of £850,000 annually.

In page 522 he says, "the most enlightened foreigners who have visited this metropolis, and contemplated the nature and organization of our Police system, join in one general remark upon it, viz. that we have some shadow for apprehending delinquents after crimes are actually committed; but none for the purpose of preventing them. This certainly is in one sense literally true;—and from this source, combined with the imperfection of the criminal code, have arisen all those enormities and inconveniences already so amply detailed."

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* In a more recent work published in 1815, Dr. Colquhoun writes—"To enumerate the scenes of vice and misery, the premature deaths, and the *incalculable* distress which attach to the unhappy prostitutes, whose *increasing* numbers, not only in the Metropolis, but in every considerable town in the United Kingdom, would, in the details, be too painful—too shocking—too lamentable for public disclosure!"

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The chapter on Municipal Police ends with the following confession: "We are arrived at an epoch full of difficulties and dangers, producing wonderful events, and still pregnant with consequences, in their nature stretching beyond the usual course of human conjectures, where it is impossible to judge of the ultimate issue!"

By an official return of the number of persons *transported* since the 1st of January 1812, it appears that the total number of males was 3,988—of females 671—of males, under the age of twenty-one, 980—and of females, under the age of twenty-one, 136; and that among the two latter were five of 11 years of age—seven of 12—seventeen of 13—thirty-two of 14—sixty-five of 15—one hundred and one of 16, and one hundred and thirty-two of 17.

Concluding Remarks on the Principles of the Funding System.

"Had the many millions, which it has unfortunately for "the country been found necessary to expend in wars, been "employed in the general improvement of waste lands, and "in roads and canals in every part of Great Britain and "Ireland,—the productive labour, or the new property created "annually, would probably *have been double its present* "*amount*, affording employment and food for a very extended "population, while the whole country would have exhibited "a continuity of cultivation, rich, fertile, and productive "beyond all conception."—Colquhoun's Treatise. p. 228.

"The National Debt, which has been considered as a "great evil by most of the writers of the last century, *and* "*which in theory, must be admitted to be true*, has been

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" found *in practice to produce innumerable benefits to the* " NATION! It has been already seen, that it has not impove- " rished the country. On the contrary, while it has given to " the operations of WAR an energy which no other nation ever " exhibited, it has at the same time invigorated the agricul- " tures, manufactures, trade, and commerce of the nation, " in a manner, and to an extent, that could never have taken " place, but for the funding system. It is not denied, that " this system may be carried too far: but if the wealth of " the country shall increase in the same proportion as during " the last sixteen years, it is impossible to say, when it " would reach its ne plus ultra." page 278.

" The resources of the country have decidedly increased " with the expences of the war, notwithstanding the consider- " able sums which have been expended in foreign countries, " and in subsidies to foreign princes, never to return into the " national circulation."

" It is even capable of demonstration, that every new loan " creates a new ARTIFICIAL capital in a nation so circum- " stanced as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and " Ireland. It should seem to have all the properties of a " capital which did not before exist, producing revenue to " the state, and profit to the individuals, as real treasure " applied in promoting objects of industry." page 281.

Great part of this paradoxical work is occupied in endeavours to prove the necessity and advantage of taxes and loans! That the Funding system of this country has been productive of much benefit and apparent prosperity, no one ever denied. That it increased to all appearance the capital and circulating medium of the empire, and enabled us to do what we otherwise could not have done, is equally evident. But the ground on which all reflecting minds and every sound political economist has opposed its substitution was on the ULTIMATE FATE that

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has hitherto always attended it in all countries. Dr. Adam Smith, in his third volume of the "Wealth of Nations," in treating of the effect of Taxes on *Land* and *Capital Stock*, after explaining that these are the principal sources, of all revenue, both private and public, points out how injuriously they are affected by the rise in the prices of all luxuries and necessaries of life, says,—

"To transfer the greater part of the revenue arising from "*Land* and *Capital Stock*, from those who are immediately "interested in maintaining the good condition of the one, and "the good management of the other, to a set of persons who "have no such particular interest, (as is the case with the "Fundholders,) MUST IN THE LONG RUN, occasion the neg-"lect of the land, and the waste or removal of Capital Stock. "The practice of Funding, has gradually weakened every "state which has adopted it. Is it likely, that in Great "Britain alone, a practice which has brought either weak-"ness or *desolation* upon every other country, will prove "altogether innocent?"

Mr. Say, in his treatise on Political Economy, advances the same principles. Dr. Price writes:—

"Were there no public debt, we should do with half the "taxes, our paper-currency would be reduced, specie would "flow in upon us, and the balance of trade would become "in our favour.—Amongst the causes which may produce a "failure of paper currency amongst us, are first an unfavour-"able balance of trade which takes away our gold, and second-"ly, a great deficiency in the revenue, which would destroy "our paper. The *Bank* is the support of our *paper*, and "the support of the Bank, is the credit of Government. "*Let any one imagine what would follow*, were it but sus-"pected that the taxes were so fallen off, as not to be pro-"ductive enough to pay the interest of the debt, and that in "order to make up the deficiency, it was necessary to

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" anticipate the taxes, and borrow of the Bank. An alarm " of the most dangerous tendency would follow."

Judge Blackstone in his Commentaries, (Vol. I. p. 327) pursues the same mode of reasoning to a demonstration.

" By this means the quantity of property in the kingdom " is greatly increased in idea, compared with former times: " yet if we coolly consider it, not at all increased in reality. " We may boast of large fortunes, and quantities of money in " the funds. But where does this money exist? It exists " only in name, in paper, in public faith, in parliamentary " security: and that is undoubtedly sufficient for the credi- " tors of the public to rely on. But then what is the pledge " which the public faith has *pawned* for the security of these " debts? The land, the trade, and the personal industry of " the subject; from which the money must arise that supplies " the several taxes. In these therefore, and these only, the " property of the public creditors does really and intrinsically " consist; *and of course the land, the trade, and the* " *personal industry of individuals, are diminished in their* " *true value, just so much as they are pledged to answer.* If " A's income amounts to £100 *per annum*, and he is so far " indebted to B, that he pays him £50 *per annum* for his " interest; one half of the value of A's property is trans- " ferred to B the creditor. The creditor's property exists in " the demand which he has upon the debtor, and no where " else; and the debtor is only a trustee to his creditor for " one half of the value of his income. In short, the property " of a creditor of the public consists in a certain portion of " the national taxes: *by how much therefore he is the richer,* " *by so much the nation, which pays the taxes, is the poorer.* " The only advantage that can result to a nation from public " debts, is the increase of circulation by multiplying the " cash of the kingdom, and creating a new species of " currency, assignable at any time and in any quantity;

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" always therefore ready to be employed in any beneficial " undertaking, by means of this its transferable quality, " and yet producing some profit even when it lies idle and " unemployed. A certain proportion of debt seems therefore " to be highly useful to a trading people; but what that " proportion is, it is not for me to determine. Thus much " is indisputably certain, that the present magnitude of our " national incumbrances very far exceeds all calculations of " commercial benefit, and is productive of the greatest in- " conveniences."

These disadvantages the learned Judge then enumerates—first, the enormous taxes, oppressing the poor by advancing necessaries of life,* and injuring the trade and manufactures of the country, by raising the price of the raw material and the artificers' wages. Secondly, that part of the debt owing to foreigners, which annually draws a considerable quantity of specie out of the kingdom, and that owing to sub-

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* When decrying the present system on the ground of its thus oppressing the " poorer classes," we are frequently told by Mr. Southey and his brother corruptionists, that if the price of food is advanced, so are wages. The following table of the comparative value of agricultural labour, compared with the price of bread at different periods, will prove that the rabble have some cause for that " ignorant impatience" and seditious clamour so impudently disregarded.

Years.	Wages per week.		
1760.....	5	equal to the price of	23 quartern loaves.
1785.....	8	.....	16 ditto
1792.....	9	.....	15 ditto
1803.....	10	.....	12 ditto
1812.....	9	.....	9 ditto
1817.....	9	.....	7 ditto

It is also a well known fact, that the farmers no longer continue that hospitality which formerly assisted the labourer in frequent gifts of food and drink.

Rev. G. Glover's Observations on Pauperism. Pamphleteer, No. XX.

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jects only—charging the active and industrious subject, who pays his share of the taxes, to maintain the indolent and idle creditor who receives them. And lastly, the weakening the internal strength of a state, by anticipating those resources which should be reserved to defend it in case of necessity.

Mr. Chrisitan, the learned editor of the commentaries, and certainly by his notes a great advocate of ultra toryism, more forcibly contributes to the illustration. It is a very erroneous notion indeed, he says, to suppose that the property of the kingdom is increased by national debts, contracted in consequence of the expences of war. On the contrary, the principal of the debt is the exact amount of the property which the nation has lost from its capital for ever. The American war cost the nation 116 millions sterling*, and the effect is precisely the same as if so much of its wealth and treasure in corn, cattle, cloth, ammunition, coin, &c. had been collected together, and thrown into the sea, besides the loss accruing from the destruction of many of its most productive hands. When this property is consumed, it never can be retrieved, though industry and care may acquire and accumulate new stores. Such a supply by no mode of taxation that has yet been devised, could be collected at once, without exhausting the patience and endurance of the people. But by the method of *funding*, the subjects are induced to suppose, that their suffering consists only in the

* How much more may we reasonably suppose many other of our present colonies will cost us, in attempts to overcome that resistance to our dominion, which will assuredly take place in some or other of our immense overgrown possessions, " in this revolutionary era of the world ?"

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payment of the yearly interest of this immense waste. The ruin is completed before the interest commences, for that is paid by the nation to the nation, and returns back to its former channel and circulation, like the balls in a tennis court, however they may be tossed from one side to the other, their sum and quantity, within the Court, continue the same. The extravagance of individuals naturally suggested the system of funding the public debts. When a man cannot satisfy the immediate demands of his creditor, it is an obvious *expedient* to give him a promissory note, to pay him at a future day, with interest for the time. All debts, when no effects remain, both in public and private, are certain evidence of the waste and consumption of so much property, which nothing can restore, though frugality and industry may alleviate the future consequences. When a debt is contracted, a man is not richer for paying it; if he owes one hundred pounds, and pays interest for it, he is in no degree richer by calling in one hundred pounds from which he receives the same interest, and therewith discharges the debt; but probably if he does so, he will feel himself more comfortable and independent, and will find his credit higher, if his occasions should oblige him to borrow in future. So it is with governments; when the debt is contracted, and the money spent, the mischief is done, the discharge of the debt can add nothing (or little comparatively) immediately to the stock or capital of the nation. But yet these important consequences may be expected from it; viz. from the abolition of taxes upon candles, soap, salt, leather, beer, and upon a melancholy catalogue of the necessary articles of life, taxes which take from those who

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have nothing to spare, the price of labour would be lowered, manufactures would flourish with renewed vigour, the minds of the people would be cheered, and the nation would again have credit and spirit to meet its most formidable enemies, and to repel and resent both injury and insult.

Nothing can be more ludicrous than the varied arguments of the Pittite writers, the last forty years. When the nation exclaimed against that profligate waste, which towards the close of the American war had well nigh brought the nation to a state of ruin, the sinking fund was brought forward to extinguish that debt, which weighed so heavily on the country. We were then to have no other wars, the debt was to have been discharged in twenty-two years, and the nation attain a *permanent* prosperity. Now that it is discovered, no delusive measure of this kind has or can get rid of the burthen, we are told that the rapid operation of the sinking fund is quite alarming; that taxes and funded debts are absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the kingdom; and when it is found out, that one war begets another in infinite succession, then it is asserted, that the country is not only not impoverished by the expenses, but that its wealth is increased; that according to Dr. Colquhoun, the national debt, though in theory undeniably impoverishing and ruinous, "*has been found in practice to produce innumerable benefits to the nation!*"

"The interest of the fund appropriated for the extinction "of the national debt, having increased to £15,500,000 per "annum, and being still in the progress of augmentation, "has also a very powerful effect. Contemplating this state "of things, and the arrangements which have gradually

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" taken place since the commencement of the funding system,
" with respect to the general economy of money, now so in-
" terwoven with the habits of the people, it is impossible to
" look forward to a period, which by the *extinction* of the
" national debt, shall dissolve the present system, without
" exciting a considerable degree of alarm!" p. 277.

This idea may well alarm Dr. Colquhoun and the Boroughmongers, for it would most assuredly destroy much of their "*influence*" and "parliamentary interest." And it would turn that mass of unproductive indleness at present subsisting on the labour of the poor and industrious into productive labour; it would destroy the fundholders, the greatest curse on the country—the legacy of the immortal Pitt. I do not mean to pour out any vulgar abuse on this class of society, or to raise an invidious distinction between those who pay, and those who receive the taxes. Property cannot be accumulated by idleness or indolence, and he is not to be abused, who, in disposing of the fruits of his industry, prefers the funds to any other security. But it is well known, the influence the government gain to the disparagement of the constitution, and the robbery of the liberties and wealth of the country, in the *creation* of the principal, and the procuring of the interest. It is well known, the peculation of the Bank and the commissaries in the management and disbursement of the public money: the hosts of abandoned stock-jobbers, who practice all sorts of infamy, in raising or depressing the funds to the ruin of the bona fide holder; who, while they can job their iniquitous gains about, will trade on the credulity and misfortunes of the deluded, and by gambling and base combinations against each other, shake the public credit of the country to its very foun-

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dation, and bring it on the very verge of bankruptcy. This it was that ruined the Goldsmidts, and as the Courier said, pulled down "those pillars of the city." This it was that generated the South-sea scheme, a bubble which burst with such desolation over the unwary speculators, and which for a time plunged the middle and labouring classes into such lamentable distress. Let the whole country then implore of the Honourable House, in the words of the famous petition from the town of Leicester, addressed to the Commons on that wicked scheme, "that the last drop of the nation's blood may not be poured out to be licked up by the cannibals of 'Change Alley."

These are the blood-hounds who have backed the ministers in their loans and subsidies; who have supported Mr. Pitt in his ambitious, mistaken, and fatal measures; who have regularly sold themselves to all parties for paper and contract; who have winked at the bales of paper which the Bank of England has pasted on the eyes and charters of England; who have, in short, done every thing that was base, slavish, selfish; every thing that could disgrace the dignity of man, and set at defiance the precepts of Christ. I do not pass this curse upon all indiscriminately, or on many respectable Bankers and Brokers, who think proper to deal in wholesale rags; but I would lavish every epithet of indignation and loathing, on those "*Bulls*," and "*Bears*," who, to the everlasting disgrace of this intellectual and Christian country, have at Lloyd's, and the Stock Exchange, shouted with savage exultation on the proclamation of war, or the breaking off of a treaty; and hooted with hellish roar on the announcement of peace! Where, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Vansittart, and my Lord Sidmouth,

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where are those feelings of boiling indignation, which, as men and as Christians, *you* ought to manifest on the mere contamination with such beings? Is the encouragement of this system, imitating the conduct and principles of the peaceful and divine Saviour? Are these men the disciples of Jesus, and the followers—the doers of his holy word? Are these people imitating the conduct of those early Christians, whom you so much extol, as exhibiting a beautiful proof of the dignity to which human nature is capable of ascending, from a just conception of their Creator, and a due regard to the example of Christ? If they really pollute our holy religion, by taking upon themselves the garb and character of Christianity; if they really recognize its doctrines, then are they more impious than the grossest infidels, who ever blasphemed the attributes of the Deity, or scoffed at the virtues and divine office of Him who came into the world "to give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of PEACE."

"But perhaps," says Dr. Colquhoun, p. 288, "the most "important advantages which the nation derives from an ex- "tended national debt, is to be traced to the security it "affords to the existence of the government itself. In the "United Kingdom, from the nature of its free constitution, "factions will occasionally arise, stimulated and promoted by "turbulent and popular demagogues tending greatly to "disturb the tranquillity of the state, and to embarrass the "measures of government. The barrier against the effer- "vescence of ill-directed human passions is at the present "period much stronger than it was twenty years ago, since "there are at least treble the number of stock-holders "interested in *preserving* the constitution, and disposed "to counteract objects of disloyalty and sedition, before

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" they can, by their magnitude and organization become
" dangerous to the tranquillity of the State. A considerable
" national debt certainly tends to attach all individuals
" possessing property in the funds to the existing govern-
" ment, *and to dispose them to support an order of things,*
" upon which the security of their property depends."

It was this very effect which so many able writers foretold would gradually destroy the liberties of this country, and which they predicted would produce a state of apathy and slavish submission to a despotic government. Now, I appeal to the present situation of the kingdom, whether we are not fast verging towards this despotism on the part of Government, and this fatal apathy on the part of the middle ranks? Is not the suspension of our personal freedom lauded and promoted by many, tamely submitted to by all, a melancholy proof?

And with regard to our financial system, how is it that one party are glorying in our excessive wealth, and another pronouncing a national bankruptcy inevitable; all agreeing, it *must* come *some* day? Are these murmuring rumours the prelude of such an event, as they generally are in the case of an individual?

Such is the present aspect of affairs, after an interval of three years profound peace, and a reviving commerce that may be increased in spite of all obstacles, to a greater extent than it ever before existed! Whence comes it then that the pressure of the poor rates and the taxes, by the confession of the Pittite advocates, threatens ruin and universal pauperism? Why do we hear the emphatic exclamation, "something must be done?" Because, as Mr Hume predicted—" it must indeed be one of these two events,

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either the nation must destroy PUBLIC CREDIT, or public credit will destroy the nation. It is impossible that they can both subsist, after the manner they have hitherto been managed in this as well as in some other countries." In those other countries to which Mr. Hume alluded, they have already paid the debt of nature; and there are hundreds of thousand Europeans yet alive to execrate the French, the Flemish, and the German paper. The vigorous constitution of this country has hitherto survived, but the fatal day is drawing nearer and nearer. However great may be the extension of commerce, nothing can prevent that certain and deserved consequence which must *ultimately* attend a blind perseverance in the system. Mr. Vansittart's Exchequer Bills may postpone awhile the evil hour, but they are only like a reprieve before execution. The Sinking Fund may yet keep us afloat for another period. Its inadequacy for permanent relief is proclaimed by the fears of the Treasury writers at its rapid and alarming operation! Ministers may rest assured there is yet in the womb of time those circumstances which will again call in request our "unimpaired resources" and vigorous endeavours: they are preparing the minds of the country, by crying down the original intention of that fund which was to have liquidated all our burthens: it is now extolled as the treasure hoarded in the acropolis for obtaining more "indemnity for the past," and additional "security for the future."

"The money arising from the operation of the Sinking "Fund should be held SACRED, *for the purpose of pre-* "*serving a treasure for the support of future wars*, and for "the improvement of the country, except such part as may

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" be necessary to *relieve* the people of the war taxes during " peace, and also such other imposts as may be found " noxious or trenching in any degree on the national pros- " perity. The pressure of the war, with all its disadvan- " tages, has certainly disclosed, by *experiments in finance*, the " means of *providing an ample revenue for* FUTURE WARS, " without hurting the *feelings* of the nation by any additional " taxation!"—Dr. Colquhoun, p. 288.

This is an ample confession of the *object* and importance of keeping "sacred" the Sinking Fund, and a voluntary avowal of the failure of its first and boasted undertaking, without appealing to Dr. Hamilton, or that justly celebrated publication, the Edinburgh Review, in demonstration of its sinking impositions.

If *A.* has an income of £50 per annum, an expenditure of £70, and an incumbrance on his estate of £100 owing to *C.* it is clear he cannot save out of his income sufficient to discharge his debt to *C.*; though he may borrow that sum of a third person; *D.* therefore advances the £100 with which *C.* is paid—but does *A.* relieve his estate by this transaction? Is it not merely a transfer—*A.* is only shifting his burthen, and the legal expences of borrowing of *D.* to pay *C.* increase that burthen.

But while the British Parliament proclaim that they are exceeding the public income 20,000,000 sterling, it must surely be a gross imposition to tell us that our debts have been diminished 15. They ought to tell us the *real* fact, that the National Debt in 1817 has been increased 5 millions in *principal*, and an additional interest on 20. If to pay off an old debt, we divert a part of our income necessary for present

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expences and thereby think we owe less, we greatly deceive ourselves.

The sinking fund has been raised to its present amount by *money annually borrowed* by Government, not by the operation of compound interest. Had there been a surplus of income beyond the expenditure, and that had continued every year, there might have arisen a sinking fund sufficient to have totally discharged the debt. But the actual sum "paid into the Exchequer on account of every branch of the Public Revenue or Income," *not having in any one year* exceeded the expenditure of that year, there can have been no surplus wherewith to have *really* redeemed any part of the debt. The annual expences then having exceeded the annual income, a sum equal to that difference must have been borrowed; and it consequently follows, that if any creditor of a former year has been paid, it must have been with money borrowed from one of the present, and the original incumbrance *increased* by so much as the expence of borrowing of the second creditor to pay the first amounted to. The public burthens have been *increased* instead of being decreased by the Sinking Fund. 1st. According to the amount of the *advantages* always given to the loan-jobber above the common rate of interest. 2nd. As to the *interest* paid to the lender, interest being *still paid* to the commissioners, on that which stands in their names under the false appellation of "redeemed!" 3rd. As to the amount of the Salaries and other official expences of the Commissioners. At the close of the year 1812, it has been calculated that the sum *lost* from these several causes amounted to £16,000,000! I cannot, however, go into all the minutiæ of the fraud; neither is it

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requisite that because I cannot detect an imposition, I should believe in it. I know there are certain things impossible, and therefore never can believe in them: thus I know human beings cannot live without eating, nor see without eyes; but because I cannot discover the tricks of those who pretend so to do, am I to believe in the imposture?

After the perusal of the following statements, let those who chuse believe that any part of the "Public Revenue" has been applied to the liquidation of the debt. And let those who desire to prostrate their understandings, believe the National Debt an accumulation of real stable capital.

"An account of the *amount in money* of the sums *funded* from 1793 to 1813, both inclusive, and also an account of the sums actually expended in the purchase of stock by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt in the same years, printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 9th of May, 1814.

Years.	There was funded.	Given the Commissioners.
1793	£ 4,500,000	£ 1,630,615
1794	12,907,452	1,872,200
1795	42,090,647	2,143,595
1796	42,652,456	2,639,724
1797	16,120,000	3,369,218
1798	20,000,000	4,025,204
1799	15,500,000	4,375,923
1800	20,500,000	4,767,991
1801	36,910,450	5,310,511
1802	25,000,000	5,922,978
1803	12,000,000	6,287,941
1804	14,500,000	6,851,201
	Carried forward	49,197,101

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Years.	There was funded.	Given the Commissioners.
	Brought forward	49,197,101
1805	25,526,699	7,615,167
1806	20,000,000	8,323,328
1807	15,700,000	9,479,164
1808	14,500,000	10,188,606
1809	22,532,100	10,863,238
1810	21,711,000	11,583,626
1811	24,000,000	12,407,320
1812	34,721,325	13,391,941
1813	64,755,700	15,379,624
1814	36,078,047	14,241,770
1815	57,557,548	13,578,047
		£176,248,932

The following is an account of the *Gross* produce of the ~~*revenues*~~ of Great Britain for the twenty years ending on the 5th of Jan. 1817 :—

1798	£26,820,629	13	4¾
1799	33,632,337	0	0
1800	38,805,320	9	8¼
1801	37,741,824	16	6¼
1802	39,673,280	1	2¼
1803	41,931,747	18	9¼
1804	42,760,825	8	0
1805	50,184,443	8	11
1806	55,041,771	5	9½
1807	58,769,151	11	7½
1808	64,805,395	13	0¼
1809	67,954,618	2	1
1810	70,240,226	14	6¼

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1811	74,040,543	17	6
1812	71,113,588	6	0
1813	70,455,679	12	4½
1814	79,448,111	3	9¾
1815	41,324,292	9	0¾
1816	85,311,706	16	11
1817	73,022,675	16	11¼

The following resolutions on the state of the Finances were moved by Mr. Tierney a few days before the prorogation of the Parliament:—

I.

That it appears to this House, by the fourth report of the Committee of Finance, that the sum to be expended by the Commissioners for the redemption of the funded debt of Great Britain and Ireland, in the year 1817, may be estimated at £14,515,080

And that provision has been made for paying off navy and transport debt, within the same period, to the amount of 1,660,000

Making the sum applicable to the reduction of debt in 1817 16,175,080

That it appears to this House, that the amount of the unfunded debt of Great Britain, in Exchequer Bills, outstanding and unprovided for, has been increased, since the 5th of January, 1817, by the sum of..... 7,898,950

That a further issue of Exchequer Bills, to the amount of £9,000,000, and of Treasury Bills in Ireland £3,600,000 has been voted for the service of the year 1817 12,600,600

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Making an increase of debt in 1817 20,498,950

And that, deducting the sum before stated, as applicable to the reduction of debt..... 16,175,080

The debt of Great Britain and Ireland (exclusive of any deficiency which may arise in the income of, and charge upon the Consolidated Fund) will be increased in the year 1817, by the sum of 4,323,870

II.

That, supposing the income of, and charge upon the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, to be the same in the year ending the 5th of January, 1818, as in the year ending the 5th of January, 1817, they may be stated as follows:

Income: Great Britain, (after deducting £374,000 arrears of property tax) App. A. 1, 4th report of the Committee of Finance £38,709,551

Income: Ireland; App. E. 1, Do. Do..... 4,394,631

Income of year ending the 5th of January, 1818 43,104,182

Charge: Great Britain; App. B. 1, 4th report of the Committee of Finance £36,693,429

Ireland; App. F. 1, 2, and 3, Ditto, Do..... £6,985,953

Charge of year ending the 5th of January, 1818..... 46,625,382

Deficiency of Consolidated Fund, 5th of January 1818 3,521,200

III.

That it appears to this House, that, comparing the nett produce of the customs and excise of Great Britain, in the first twenty-two weeks of 1816, with the first twenty-two weeks of 1817, there is a *diminution* of receipt in the latter period of..... 1,430,698

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IV.

That the unfunded debt of Great Britain and Ireland, unprovided for, may be stated as follows, viz.

Amount of Exchequer Bills in Great Britain, outstanding and unprovided for, 20th of June, 1817	£52,362,200
Further amount of Exchequer Bills voted for the service of 1817	9,000,000
Amount of Treasury Bills (Ireland) unprovided for, on the 5th of January, 1817	5,304,992
Amount of Treasury Bills (Ireland) voted for the service of 1817	3,600,000
Amount of Unfunded Debt (exclusive of any deficiency in the income of, and charge upon the Consolidated Fund) to be provided for, 5th of January, 1818.	70,267,192

Extraordinary Rise of the British Funds in 1817, variously *and ludicrously accounted for in the* COURIER *Newspaper, generally believed to be the* Official Organ *of Government.*

The following literal Extracts from this English Moniteur were conspicuously placed.

January 1*st.* "The Morning Chronicle chooses to infer from our statement on Monday, that it is the intention of Government to appropriate the Sinking Fund to the services of the year. We do not mean to be drawn into any discussion on this subject. We can safely leave the Sinking Fund to the care of those who profess the principles of Mr. Pitt, and have been educated in his school of Finance, and who justly consider the Sinking Fund as the most splendid monument of his glory. The financial arrangements are, as they ought to be, a profound secret, which will be disclosed by Ministers

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in the time and manner which their sense of duty may lead them to consider as most advantageous to the public service. This is a holiday at the Stock Exchange; there was however much bustle at an early hour amongst the Brokers. The Stocks are higher: Consols for account, 64.

January 6th. "This day was a holiday at the Stock Exchange; but there were private bargains done at one and a half per cent. lower than the funds were on Saturday, on account of the deficiency in the receipt of the last quarter of the Revenue."

January 7th. "The price of the Funds this morning are only 1-8th per cent lower than yesterday. It would appear that a deficiency in the revenue had been anticipated by the monied interests in the city. There are more buyers than sellers this morning."

"The Ministers," says the Chronicle, "must naturally tremble at the prospect of meeting Parliament, with resources bearing no proportion to that extravagant expenditure to which, without the pretext of excuse they have so tenaciously clung." If to have saved the country from the greatest tyranny that ever threatened it, never surely had any set of men more cause to tremble! And for this expenditure, large as it has been, they scorn all pretexts of excuse, and stand before their country with the clear and convincing justification and proof, that it was necessary for the salvation of the State, that at no less a price could we have secured and placed on an IMPERISHABLE basis those blessings which are above all price; the altars of our God; the graves of our forefathers; the homes of our children; and the liberties and independence of our country !!!"

January 8th. "The funds have recovered the depression they sustained on the news being published as to the Revenue for the last quarter. Consols for the opening left off yesterday at 64 ¼-⅜. The prices this morning are fully sustained, and from the appearance of the market, a further rise is anti-

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cipated. Exchequer Bills bear a much higher premium than formerly, from 9s. to 13s."

January 9th. "The Funds continue to improve, they are higher this forenoon than they were eight days ago."

January 16th. "The funds which had fallen yesterday to about 63½, recovered towards the close of the market, and left off at 64. This morning 3 per cent. consols were 64¼ for account, so slight has been the *depreciation* produced by the loan of private individuals to the French Government.

The following is our city report of this morning:—The Funds this morning are higher. This forenoon, the Commissioners for the reduction of the debt gave for reduced 63¼. In the city, the loan to the French Government, if concluded in the manner represented, is expected to have *a very good effect* on commerce!"

January 21st. "City—12 o'clock. The funds are higher this morning. It is stated here, that from *immense sums of money unemployed*, and from the late dividends, that it is probable the prices will continue to improve. Money continues very plentiful, and the large sums put into circulation lately, will probably go to the purchase of stock, and that the only reason for the delay was the expectation of a greater *depression* on account of the French loan.

January 29th. "City—12 o'clock. The only topic of conversation in the city, is the outrage committed on the *sacred* person of the Prince Regent. The speech of his Royal Highness yesterday was *calculated* to allay the fears of the monied interests, *and to advance the funds.* At the close of the market, consols were done at 63¼: this morning so great was the depression, and so alarming the fears of the citizens, that Consols opened at 62⅞; as the day advanced, confidence became restored from the high *assurance* on the ability and promptness of his Majesty's Government. Consols at 12 o'clock, 63¼."

January 31st. "Consols 63¼. The Courier of this evening,

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gives an engraving of the plate of broken glass in the State Coach, and what is supposed was the direction of the Ball. "We remain entirely of opinion, that the life of his R. H. was attempted by *bullets* as well as by stones. For *had* some of the stones hit the Regent, they could hardly have failed of fracturing the skull. However, two of the holes that were made, were in the firm opinion of all those *who were in the coach*, made by bullets. The Prince Regent is reported to have expressed his conviction that they were, as soon as the shot took place. The *only* doubts expressed rest, as we have before stated, upon the circumstances of NO balls having been found in the carriage, and upon the FACT of no perforation having been made in the opposite glass! Every one knows, that if a stone be thrown against a thin sheet of ice, it will produce a hole in the ice, but will itself glide along the surface!"

February 1st. "The Funds are considerably higher this morning. One reason of the advance is stated to be the determination of the respectable and opulent citizens to stand forward in support of the Government, in opposition to the mad and wicked schemes of the Revolutionists."

February 3rd. Attack on the Regent. Police Office.—His worship *Mr. Gifford* "My opinion is that the stones were thrown in order to obliterate the bullet holes!" Answer of *Lord Murray*, "No, I d'ont think the mob saw the holes; it might have been so." By the advice of H. R. H. I put my hat to the broken glass. Some of the Stones were as big as my fist. And in going into the park yesterday, I was astonished to find in all the trees a great many very large stones!" *Mr. Magistrate Hicks*—"We have evidence enough that *High Treason* has been committed on that day."

February 5th. City—12 o'clock. "There was a considerable bustle on the Stock Exchange yesterday. Various *rumours* were stated; one, that the French loan had been finally concluded: Consols for account declined to 64. This

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morning the prices are much higher, Consols 64¼. Various *surmises* are offered, as to the ways and means, and the expenditure of the year: *large bets* are offered, that there will be no touching of the Sinking Fund—no loan; the persons offering these bets argue, that the reduction will be very considerable, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer *can have what money he wants* under 4 per cent. interest per annum, *by issuing Exchequer Bills*, that it will be the only means resorted to, to supply any *deficiency* that may arise. Such are the reports of the City."

February 6th. "Stocks, particularly Bank Stock, have yesterday and to-day experienced a great rise. Bank Stock opened yesterday at 227, and was to day 236. 3 per cent. Consols yesterday 64½, were to day 65¼: other Stocks also rose, and Exchequer Bills were to day 18s. premium.

The following is our statement or *bulletin* this morning. City—12 o'clock. The business done on the S. E. this forenoon has been without precedent in extent. The funds have advanced 1 per cent. The reported state of the Finance is most favourable. The reports of the City to account for the great rise are, first, the arrangement of the C. of the E. that he will have little occasion to apply to the money market; that the BANK OF ENGLAND *will supply Government* with a considerable sum, at a very low rate of interest. The next Report that has been the occasion of improving the Funds, is the statement given by Mr. Vansittart, that Government are no guarantees to the French loan.

The whole appearance as to the prospects of the country, with respect to the revival of commerce, wore also a more cheering aspect. The arrangement with the Bank is also reported *favourable* to that great establishment. Bank Stock *has advanced 6 to 7 per cent!*"

February 8th. "Yesterday was a day of which the country, the House of Commons, and the Government may be justly PROUD.—Lord Castlereagh brought forward his motion for a *Select* Committee of Finance." Parliamentary Report in the

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same day's paper, "Mr. Tierney apprehended that no member could be expected to follow the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) through the whole of the details which he had brought forward. If he understood the Noble Lord right, the whole cost of our naval and military establishments, with miscellaneous services, would amount for the present year to about *Eighteen millions three hundred thousand pounds sterling!* He offered no opinion on the reduction *proposed* by the noble Lord, as it was impossible to form a correct opinion of them, without the necessary documents being before the house. The Noble Lord had professed to give a very ample account of the *expenditure* of the great establishments, but he had left out what might be considered rather a *material feature* in the case, (*a laugh*) and that was the *income* which was to meet this expenditure."

The City—12 o'clock. "The funds continue to fluctuate. Consols for account opened at 65⅜. The late extensive *speculators* wished to realize the large profits that had accrued by the late advance; Consols in consequence declined to 64¾; at 12 o'clock they had again attained 65¼, and scarcely any person would venture to become what they technically term *bears*, from the great reductions in the establishments, and the peculiarly favourable reports of the Finances. No persons would venture to make sales, so general was the impression, that a great advance must immediately take place."

Februry 11th. "There continues to be great fluctuations in the funds; they advance with a rapidity unprecedented."

February 12th. "Mr. Baring, the Hopes, Parish of Hamburgh, and five banking-houses at Paris, are the contractors for the French loan. The amount of that loan is only four millions sterling positive—and four extra optional. It is to be under the management of a committee, who are to take care that it does not operate to the detriment of the Funds of different countries. Our own Funds however are somewhat *affected* this morning, from the belief that the whole eight millions were to be paid at once, and that they would be

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chiefly furnished by this country. This belief we have shewn, by the above statement, to be unfounded."

February 12*th.* "The funds were rather depressed yesterday, and this morning, owing to the number of the *speculators*, realizing the great profits that have lately accrued from the rapid rise of the funds."

February 15*th.* "A shot was yesterday fired into a Gentleman's house near Fleet Street; it was about 3 o'clock in the afternoon; and as there was no report, it is concluded it was from an air gun!"

February 26*th.* "The Funds have varied little this morning. To morrow is settling day at the Stock Exchange. Some *defaulters* are said to be expected, on account of the great advance that has taken place in the prices."

March 1*st.* "CONTINUED UNPRECEDENTED RISE IN THE FUNDS. The prices of Stock are again 1 per cent higher than yesterday. Consols for account yesterday 67¼, at 12 this forenoon 68¾. About a month ago, they were 62½."

March 5*th.* "The Funds continue to rise with an unprecedented rapidity—Consols this morning were at one time 69¾. It is stated in the city, that one great cause of the advance is the large majorities in Parliament in favour of ministers, who have pledged themselves to maintain inviolate the Sinking Fund. It is also mentioned, that money, like every article of commerce, must find its level; and that the great rise cannot be a matter of surprise, when the great *overflow of capital* is considered, and that the Exchequer Bills lately issued at 2½d. per day, or £3 16s. interest, per cent. per annum were taken off by the public with avidity at 6s. premium per £100. Taking the Consols to yield at the same rate of interest, or, at a par with these bills, Consols *would* rate *above* 80. It cannot be a matter of great surprise, that the Funds should advance when Consols have not reached 70."

6*th.* "Immense sums had been *betted in the City*, that

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Consols would not reach 70 by the 1st. of April. The bets have been lost. Consols, at the opening of the market this morning, were done at 69¼, at twelve they had advanced to 71. Very large sums havebeen paid this morning."

March 7th. "Funds are lower this morning, on account of the number of the late purchasers and speculators realizing the great profits that have accrued."

8*th.* "We are sorry to find that Mr. Tierney is not able to give the Finance Committee the advantage of his longer attendance, on account of ill health. We regret this as though we have often disagreed with him on political subjects, we should be ashamed of ourselves, if from any disagreement of this kind, we were to withhold our tribute *to the clearness and acuteness of his talents, in which he is equalled by few, and probably surpassed by none!*"

11*th.* "Many objects of great interest engaged the attention of Parliament yesterday. *One hundred and twenty thousand men were voted,* including the army in France and India! Mr. Baring, last night in the House, spoke on the French Loan, shewing that, so far from being prejudicial to British interests, it had been beneficial to them; that no alarming drain of specie had or was likely to take place. Ministers very justly deemed it to be highly beneficial."

14*th.* "Mr. Brougham brought forward last night several resolutions relative to the Trade and Manufactures of the Country. We doubt much whether, in a situation of affairs produced by the transition from war to peace—in a state of affairs in which the distress occasioned by that transition has been aggravated by a bad harvest season—we doubt whether much practical good could be expected from any speech made in Parliament, or any measures adopted by Parliament!"

April 5th. "We have daily to report the improvement in the Funds. Consols for account this morning 73¾."

7*th.* "MOST IMPORTANT. We congratulate our readers upon the *substantial* proof, which the state of the Consolidated

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Fund for this quarter, will afford to them, that the *resources* of the country are *essentially* unimpaired, &c."

April 8*th*. "There continues to be great fluctuation in the Funds. The late extensive purchasers are to-day realizing their profits. Consols, which yesterday were done at 74¼, are to-day 73¾,"

9*th*. "The prices of the Funds continue temporarily depressed, *as* the day of settlement is at hand, the *brokers* are making up their accounts, and realizing their profits."

10*th*. "The Funds continue *heavy*. The improved state of the Revenue has had its full effect upon them. Consols 72¼."

"*Our Financial Situation.*"

"In addition to the exhilirating prospects held out by the steady and gradual rise in the funds, the result not of wild speculation, but of thorough conviction in the real prosperity of the country, and implicit confidence in the wisdom and energy of its rulers, we have further cause of congratulation in the general improvement of our finances, and more particularly in those branches of the public revenue which would be expected to have suffered most from the derangement naturally attendant on the first establishment of a new order of things,—we mean, the Customs and Assessed Taxes, &c."

April 12*th*. "The differences paid at the S. E. yesterday and this morning are stated to be an *immense* amount, on account of the great fluctuations of the Funds. Only one considerable defaulter has been announced. Settling day being over, stocks are again rising. Consols for May, at 12 o'clock, were 73¼.

The opposition Gazettes of this morning contain two or three *tirades* in the usual strain against the taxes, as the cause of all our *inconveniences*—the taxes—the taxes—these are the cause of the public embarrassments, the *scarcity* of money, the depression of trade, the sufferings of the working

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classes, exclaim many well-meaning men, as well as those who desire a change, not only of the ministry but of the whole frame of Government. The cause of those distresses was the system of *country* banking. Six or eight years ago, the *prospect* of payment in specie by the Bank of England being apparently remote, and suspicion being cast upon the Bank of England notes in the country, where they had but little circulation, country bankers thought they could securely issue their paper to any extent at legal interest. Speculation increased on all sides. The country banker lodged the mortgage deeds with his banker in London as security for the money he might draw, and the London banker found no difficulty in having his bills discounted at the B. of E. the fountain head of the whole circulation. Speculation had overshot due bounds three or four years ago, and began to faulter; but when peace came, it sunk under the shock. And the most *alarming* circumstance of all others was the certainty or probability that cash payments would soon be resumed by the B. of E. *when gold would be preferred to paper*, and country bankers would be compelled to pay their notes in specie. The three classes of bankers at once took the alarm, the country, the town, and THE MOTHER OF THE SYSTEM in Threadneedle Street. The latter, with a prudence highly laudable, in times of public difficulty, putting great houses to the test, gradually diminished the discounts to London bankers much connected with banks in the country. Some of the banks failed though actually solvent. The pressure would have been gradual and constant had it arisen from gradual and constant taxation. But, on the contrary, the pressure was sudden and excessive, like a storm, like the desolation by a hurricane in the West Indies. This is the true cause of the non-payment of rents, and the non-employment of the poor, and not the weight of taxes, which has nearly as little to do with the subject as the weight of the atmosphere. But speculators would throw the blame on any thing rather than on themselves, and in exclaiming against

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the taxes, they were sure of the sympathy of the multitude; the vehement support of the disaffected, hoping by the destruction of Public Credit to effect a Revolution. Law has now compelled payment, a general settlement of accounts has taken place, it is known who are and who are not men of substance, the *squeeze* is over, confidence is returning, the B. of E. is extending its discounts, and trade revives. A statement of the greatest cause of our difficulties may now be made without public or private injury. Those bankers who have withstood the storm have proved their strength, their stability, their solid wealth, their abundant resources, and will of course enjoy in future far more confidence than banks generally have hitherto enjoyed. The crisis is past, a crisis resembling that one of difficulty which took place about 23 years ago, soon after the commencement of the war, and which was stated in Parliament to have arisen from plethora, not from poverty. Such has been the crisis just terminated. It arose from *too much riches*, from a SUPERABUNDANCE of money, encouraging undue speculation and an improvident expenditure. But the taxes were no more the cause of the evil than they had been the cause of the preceding prosperity."

April 21*st*. "There is much bustle this morning on the S. E. the prices of the F. continue improving. Consols for account were at one time this forenoon 73¼; at 12 o'clock, on account of large sales, they had declined to 73⅛. We have completed to day the publication of the Second Report of the Finance Committee. How valuable their labours are—how victoriously have they replied to those who, at the outset, held them forth to the country as unworthy of confidence—how diligently they have applied themselves to the most minute details and examination of the subjects before them, will be easily seen by the reports they have presented. The subject of the Second Report is one of the highest importance—embracing a *vast* field, and extending to every part, not only of our

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European dominions, but of our possessions IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD."

April 23*rd.* "City, 12 o'clock.—The Funds are considerably lower this morning—3 per cent. Consols have been 72. The reasons assigned in the City for the late depression are, that the early speculators, having completely succeeded in realizing great profits by investing in the Funds, are now withdrawing their capital to *speculate* in land, and in the reviving manufactures of the country, as there is little doubt the value of both will shortly rise as rapidly as the Funded Property.,'

April 24*th.* "The F. continue to fluctuate--they are a half cent. higher this morning."

April 26*th.* "Mr. Southey's letter to Mr. W. S. has been published; and, though a few hours only have elapsed since it was announced, thousands, we are quite sure, have perused it. With a bold and vigorous pencil he draws a sketch of the state of the country, and so correct appears to us to be his outline, that we invite him to fill it up. He shews us what we have gained in authority, wealth, and power, is counterbalanced by greediness of gain, looseness of principle, and half knowledge, &c. We reluctantly put an end to our article on Mr. Southey's letter, which will be read with great *interest* and *pleasure* by almost every man in the kingdom, and "there can be no safety," says he, "with a populace, half Luddite, half Lazzaroni."

The Courier the next two months was occupied with preparing the way for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the contents of the Green Bag.

June 21*st.* "The C. of the E. brought forward his budget last night, and his statement is so clear and intelligible, as to render any comments unnecessary, &c. Since the last budget, the Stocks have risen from 62½ to 74½, and the Bank *has been able to resume its cash payment*; for, though an individual cannot carry his £10 note to the B. and get cash for it, yet, if he be desirous of cash, he may obtain it by the subdivision

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of the note into small notes. We all of us know, too, so little desirous are shop-keepers of cash, that they prefer having a note tendered to them in payment for their goods. The amount of debt paid off in the course of the year by the operation of the S. F. *will* be larger than the amount of debt incurred. In conclusive the C. of the E. said, he trusted the House would hear no more of the proposition for reducing the interest of the National Debt, and committing a breach of public faith."

City, 1 o'clock. "The budget has produced the greatest sensation in the City; there was great bustle on the opening of the S. E. this morning: Consols which were yesterday 75½, immediately rose to 76½. Extensive bets were made, that 3 per cent. Consols would be 80 in less than three months."

July 4th. "Stocks have experienced a considerable rise. This rise is not to be imputed solely to financial causes, political ones have their share in it; and the firmness which Government have shewn in adopting measures to insure internal quiet, and to check the designs of disaffection, has given the monied interests more confidence, and more security. They could not, to be sure, be very *easy*, when they heard such doctrines maintained as were maintained at the beginning of the year, when they saw themselves held out as objects of public odium, and the annihilation of the National Debt, or reduction of the interest, proposed as remedies for the difficulties of the times. Happily the measures that have been adopted are likely to be effectual, and hence the monied interest, divested of their apprehension, feel more confidence and more security."

July 5th. "Consols 77⅞. The F. are lower this morning. owing to the reports of a *considerable deficiency in the Revenue* for the last quarter."

July 7th. "The state of the Revenue of G. B. for the present quarter is, as might be expected, somewhat less favourable than that of the corresponding quarter of last year; but the

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deficiency is much less than we had any reason to apprehend, considering the great distress which has prevailed, partly from want of employment and low wages, but still more from the very high price of provisions. Indeed, we are convinced that the falling off from these causes would have been far more extensive, if there had not been within the last few weeks of the quarter, a very considerable improvement in many of our principal manufactures."

July 8th. "The F. continue to fluctuate. 3 per cent. Consols yesterday were 77¼. As the day advanced, the effect of the deficiency of the Revenue ceased. The Stocks rose with rapidity, and at the close of the market yesterday, 3 per cent. Consols were 78. To day at 12 o'clock they were 78 5-6ths."

July 10th. "We have almost daily the pleasure of stating the improvement of Public Credit. The F. are to day fully 1 per cent. higher than yesterday: 3 per cent. Consols for the July accounts are 79¼; for August 80¼. The great advance since yesterday is occasioned by the cheering statements upon the Finances made last night in the H. of C. by the C. of the E. and Mr. Grant. The Exchequer Bills also bear a much higher premium this morning.

Under auspices so cheering, with the prospect before us, and before all Europe, of a most abundant harvest, is the Session about to close. What reason we have to be grateful to Parliament for the measures it has adopted during the present Session, we have endeavoured to shew in a subsequent article in this day's paper.

Mr. Tierney moved his Financial resolutions yesterday, *which were met by the previous question;* after which, Mr. Grant's resolutions were put and carried."

Extracts from Mr. Tierney's speech in Courier of the same day.

"If the Revenue then did not equal the payment of the National Debt, what could we think of so dark a prospect

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The Right Honourable Gent. (the C. of E.) had talked of a temporary distress; but there never had been so long a temporary distress, or the revenue had been falling off from year to year. It was his most perfect conviction that *there would not be sufficient, without borrowing,* to pay the interest of the National Debt! So the matter stood at this moment, and Parliament ought to have made some provision for it before it separated. It was within these three months, that we had heard of nothing but distress; but now it turned out that there was so great a surplus capital, that no man knew what to do with it. This must arise from a stagnation of trade. What were the Bank to do, if that money which used to be employed in discount, now remained on their hands? They must purchase Ex. Bills with it: but could this be quoted as a proof of the prosperity of the country? Bankers he heard were now buying into the Stocks: this however might prove to be a fatal speculation. They were playing with their customer's money, he would not say in any unjustifiable way, but most unquestionably in a very unusual way. Every banker in the City was now become a *bull. Such a state of things could not go on.* He could not understand how the rising of the Stocks was any criterion of an improvement in our circumstances. Suppose trade revived in *a very great degree,* large amounts must be sold out of the Stocks. The banker held capital belonging to the merchants, which was invested in the Stocks; but it must be sold out, if trade revived, and that at whatever happened to be the price of the day. He never could get any Gent. to tell him what was meant by plenty of money, and what by scarcity. One day we found plenty of money, and on the next we were told there was nothing. Some Gents. might be able to explain this, but to him it was quite unintelligible. He believed, that in the way we were now going on, *at the end of five years*—and if we got five or six years of peace in the present state of the world, God knows, it was as much as any man ought to calculate upon—*our situation would be truly alarming.* Nobody

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could say, that the country could revive in trade and commerce, with such a heavy load of taxes as now existed."

Mr. BARING contended, that for all practical purposes the Sinking Fund was completely swept away, and that at present it was a mere delusion. He commented on the necessity of keeping inviolate the Public Credit, which was not to be played tricks with, as had been the case in other countries. He went into a detail of the facility with which smuggling is carried on between this country and Flanders, where tea, which sells in London for 8s. per pound, is procured for 2s. 6d."

July 12th. "The advance of the F. is so rapid, as to baffle the calculation of the most sanguine. The rise this morning is about 1¼ per cent. 3 per cent. Consols for the August account, have been done at 84. It is now the general opinion of the monied men of the City, that the 3 per cents. are going up to 90."

July 14th. "There continue to be great fluctuations in the funds. 3 per cent. Consols for August have to day been done at 85. Generally the Stocks may be stated 1 per cent. higher than on Saturday."

July 16th. "Stocks since yesterday morning have fallen off 2 per cent. They fell considerably, and fluctuated much yesterday. This morning they opened at 1 per cent. lower than they left off at yesterday, and have since fallen about a half per cent. This fall is supposed to be occasioned by persons realizing against the settling day, on Friday next, their profits on the late rapid rise. After Friday, it is expected S. will again start upwards. The broker of a great banking house at the west end of the town yesterday sold £600,000."

July 17th. "To-morrow is settling day at the S. E. great fluctuations in the F. are still looked for. 3 per cent. Consols for the August account were yesterday so low as 82; this morning they advanced to 84¼, at twelve o'clock 83 5-6th ¼."

July 18th. "To day is the settling day at the S. E. The great *speculators* take and pay for all real stock, and the pub-

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lic continue buyers; the F. consequently are improving, and it is likely from the spirit and transactions of this day, that they will rise very considerably. There is no talk of any failures. Many men have made large fortunes."

July 19*th.* "It is a matter of some surprise, that there were no defaulters of any consequence at the S. E. yesterday; the differences paid were to an immense amount, the advance since last settling day being 8 to 10 per cent."

July 22*nd.* "The F. are nearly 1 per cent. lower this morning. The number of persons realizing the great profits that have accrued from the late advance, are most extensive. A reported French loan has had also some effect in depressing the prices. 3 per cent Consols for the August account were at 12 o'clock 82."

July 23*rd.* "Funds fell considerably yesterday afternoon, in consequence of the great number of persons who were selling with a view of realizing their profits. This morning they rose again with as much rapidity. At 12, Consols for August were at 82 5-6ths."

July 28*th.* "There were considerable fluctuations in the Funds on Saturday, although no public event had occurred to cause them. As usual when there is anything like a *panic* on the S. E., the *Bulls* co-operated with their foes the *Bears*, and aided the object of the latter to sell, although it was evidently their interest to stand firm. Between two and three the 3 per cents. were done as low as 76⅞ and 77¼ for the account. At half past three they rose to 79½ (which was an advance of 2 per cent. from the lowest price of the day,) and the leaving off prices were, for money 78 5-6ths, for the account 79¼. It has been asserted in a morning paper, that a great number of the small Stock-holders have sold out during the few last weeks. We believe this to be true, and we consider it as an additional proof of the increasing prosperity of the commerce and manufactures of the country, which affords to the small capitalist the expectation of em-

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ploying his capital to advantage. Various satisfactory causes may be assigned for the rise in the Funds—the large sums expended by the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt. The continually growing wealth of the British *community*, however, occasions the usual demand for public securities for the purpose of investment. One powerful cause of the increasing wealth of the community, to which we have just alluded, is their having been relieved from seventeen millions of taxes, (including the property tax,) and their expences having been reduced by the diminished price of the necessaries of life, as well as by their having adhered to a system of economy, which, however prejudicial to trade, is certainly most favourable to the accumulation of capital. The following is an account from the City, at Twelve o'clock. 3 per cents. at 79. The most ridiculous reports are in circulation—A war with Prussia, and that very bad news has been received from India. The fact appears to be, that many persons are realizing the immense profits that had accrued from the late advance: and that extensive sales of stock are made for the property to be invested in land mortgages, and the reviving manufactures of the country."

July 29th. "The attention of the City continues fixed on the Stock Exchange. The fluctuation in the Funds, and the consequent great change in the value of property, attract universal attention. The *panic* of the Stock-holders appears passing away. We should not be surprised to see an advance as rapid as the late decline. There is one very strong reason for supposing the Stocks will advance, the large sellers of Saturday are now becoming purchasers; and the extensive mercantile houses of the City, who had received orders to sell stock so largely, now pause to comply with their orders. They had orders to sell Consols at 83 and 84; but as they have declined to 79, they postpone obeying their correspondents, until they receive further in-

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structions.— 3 per cent Consols at twelve to day, were 79⅝ for money, and 80⅛ for account."

July 31*st*. "There are great fluctuations in the Funds. The prices this morning were 1 per cent. lower than yesterday at one o'clock."

August 1*st*. "The F. have risen near 1¾ per cent. Consols left off yesterday at 78½, and at one o'clock to day they were 79⅞."

August 2*nd*. "The Funds were rather heavy this morning. Consols left off yesterday at 79; at one to day they were 78⅞."

August 4*th*. "At the close of the market on Saturday, Consols were at 78½. At one to day they had risen to 78¾."

August 5*th*. "There is still some fluctuation in the Funds. Consols at 1 o'clock had suffered a depression of near 1 per cent. They left off last night at 79⅛, and at the hour this morning which we have mentioned, they were at 79."

August 6*th*. "We *inadvertently* misquoted in the Courier of yesterday, the price of Consols at the close of Monday's market. They left off on that day at 78⅞ and not at 79⅛; so that there had been a trifling rise instead of a depression. This morning they experienced another rise, being at one o'clock 79¼. Various are the reports of the causes of the improvements; but we suppose the powerful and uncounterated operation of the *Sinking Fund* to be the chief cause."

August 7*th*. "The F. continue gradually to rise. On Monday Consols rose 6-8ths; on Tuesday ⅛; on Wednesday ⅛; and to day at one o'clock they had risen 2-8ths, being at that hour 80⅜."

August 9*th*. Consols being now fairly above 80, the Courier has changed a small type for its largest.

August 14*th*. "The great bankers, Messrs. Von Rothschild, who have establishments at London, Paris, and

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Frankfort, are on the eve of forming a banking concern at Hamburgh."

August 23*rd.* "The Funds seem to remain steadily about 80, in defiance of all the stratagems, reports, and attacks of the Bears, whose heavy losses entitle them to pardon and commiseration. The attack founded on the sales of the Scotch houses had but a short success, and the more recent attack, founded on the reports of a misunderstanding with Russia and Spain, has had far less effect, because it never rested on any truth. It is probable the Funds will *vibrate* about 80 for some time, and then rise five or six per cent. This opinion we give, though possessed of no other information than every man possesses. We give it in consequence of observing the past progress of the market. When it was ascertained that the minister wanted no Loan, and could issue Exchequer Bills at a lower interest, the Funds *gradually*, but *rapidly*, rose to 72 and 73. This price was so *unexpectedly high*, that numbers sold out upon it, believing it to be an unnatural price which could not hold. These sales brought the Funds below 70, where it was supposed they would remain. They vibrated about 70 for some time; but the absence of newly created stock by any new loans, and the influence of the purchasers by the Commissioners for redeeming the National Debt, were such, that, after a short struggle with the real sellers, the Funds gradually recovered the price of 73, and went to 74—75. And when Parliament was prorogued without any new call for money, they *suddenly started up nearly ten per cent.* If 72 had tempted the public to sell, 84 of course afforded a much stronger temptation; consequently the sales have been longer at the higher than at the lower price. But notwithstanding all this, there is evidently a natural *elasticity* in the Funds, an *untamed* tendency to rise. They have vibrated about 80 for some time, and when the influence of the sales which that high price has induced shall cease, then again the great

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fundamental causes must operate, namely, the *abundance of money, the low interest to be had elsewhere,* and the purchases of the Commissioners for redeeming the National Debt. These purchases being so considerable, and so constant, must in due time take a great portion of stock out of the market, never to return. Should a scarcity of stock arise, the price of course must still mount higher and higher, since the price depends wholly upon the supply and demand. *The operation of the Sinking Fund may indeed become too powerful, should the present situation of public affairs,* improving manufacturers and commerce at home, with the most pacific prospects abroad, continue. The opinion that the rise in the Funds has been produced by the Jews, has of course long been discarded."

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR, 30*th August*, 1817.

"There is nothing at present which demands so much attention as the high price of the Public Funds. The advocates of the present ministry tell us to receive the price of the funds as a proof of our wealth and prosperity.

"Whatever the designing may say, and the thoughtless repeat, if Consols were at 100 per cent. they would not be a sign of prosperity without trade; but they would be the symptoms of a disease, which, without a powerful remedy, would bring on dissolution. In times of extensive commerce, when merchants, manufacturers, and others have accumulated more than they can well employ in their respective merchandizes, they invest their superfluities in the funds, because from them they can derive a certain interest; and if these investments are so large as to cause a considerable rise in the price of the Funds, then the wealth of the country is apparent, and then only.

"It is commerce alone that proves we are doing well, but

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now we have almost none. The present price of the Funds has been occasioned by the loss of trade. Men buy stock because they can do nothing else with their money. *The nation is loaded with as many taxes as ever, and it has not the power of acquiring the means to pay them.*"

HIGH PRICE OF THE FUNDS CONSIDERED.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR, *October* 20, 1817.

"The state of the money market has of late occupied much of the public attention, and various have been the conjectures that have been hazarded to account for the present extraordinary high price of the Funds.

"It is apprehended that a few plain remarks will at once unravel the mystery in which these matters are involved, and it is presumed, that should the understated explanation be correct, all cause of surprise will be removed. Indeed we shall not be so much astonished by the present *unnatural* price of Stocks, as *at the apathy that can contemplate the awful state of the country without terror and dismay.*

"It is then taken for granted that there was no surplus of money in the months of December and January last. The Landholder and Stock Proprietor will probably be agreed on this point. How then, it will be asked, can wealth have poured into the kingdom since that time to the present apparent amount? We must also consider that the revenue has in the interim constantly declined—that foreigners have sold immense sums of stock—that British capital has also been withdrawn to purchase American, French, Dutch, and Russian stock and other foreign securities, and that large sums have been transmitted for the maintenance of our countrymen in France and other parts of the Continent. Thus has passed the year 1817, fertile in misery and poverty, trade declining,

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riches departing, and yet our market overloaded and actually groaning under the burthen of apparently increasing wealth and *fancied* prosperity.

"Now to solve the paradox: it will in the first place be necessary to recollect, that during the last year, the Bank of England increased their capital 25 per cent. and an additional loan to Government was the consequence: this measure was adopted at a time when every other establishment in the land found it necessary to diminish capital in a still greater ratio.

"The wisdom of the measure, the writer of this article has not been able to discover. However, this being done, it became necessary to procure the Bank proprietors a dividend; but in this part of the business there might have been considerable difficulty. Good bills were not to be procured, and of course this old and legitimate channel of profit appeared closed. In this state the Government offered them Exchequer Bills, paying it is true a low rate of interest, but yet to be preferred to the non-employment of their capital, and *Bank notes bearing no interest were exchanged* for Exchequer Bills, paying 3d. 2¼d. or 2d. per diem.

"Had the public been the purchasers of these Bills, they would have employed Bank notes equal to the amount; but by the Bank becoming buyers, the case was completely altered. Instead of their bills merely absorbing capital, they actually created it, and every million of Exchequer Bills held by the Bank has produced an additional million of Bank notes—this operation often repeated, has day after day forced paper into circulation, totally uncalled for and injurious by its excess to the best interests of the country, operating by unnaturally lessening the rate of interest as a bounty on the exportation of capital. The greater therefore the sums advanced by the Bank to Government, whether on the security of Exchequer Bills or otherwise, the greater will be the surplus of money, and one may conceive of bills issued to such an amount, and represented by a corresponding creation of

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Bank notes, as may render money scarcely productive of any interest at all.

"But will the Bank of England have the imprudence to sanction much longer this *destructive* system, a system which will render it impossible for them long to maintain cash payments, but will render it necessary one day to overwhelm the market with those very bills, as the only means of withdrawing their notes from circulation, and preventing a run for specie which it will be impossible for them to satisfy.

"Are our ministers by such infamous expedients prepared to go the whole length of their own system, and to place no bounds to the issue of a paper now become national, and only differing from the assignats of France, by being passed through the hands of the Bank directors, and paying a duty to them of £3 10s. per cent? Will they now deny that the state of their treasury sinks every day more and more in cash, and swells more and more in fictitious representation, when so little within or without is now found but paper; the representative not of opulence, but of *want*? Will they even now augment this evil? Will they still continue those jobbing shuffling expedients in all objects, which however proper some of them may be if honestly accomplished, are rendered fraudulent by the means that are adopted to carry them into effect? Rather let them endeavour to realize the proud boast of Mr. Burke, "In England not one shilling of paper money is received but of choice." "Never was (shall be) a scarcity of cash and an exuberance of paper money, a subject of complaint in this nation."

"I know the answer to these remarks will be, Consols are 83. Let it however be recollected, that in the year 1720, South-Sea Stock was as high as 1000, *but the bubble nevertheless burst*; and surely it must be a wild theory that will estimate the strength and permanency of the building, not by the solidity of the foundation, but by the height of the superstructure!"

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These extracts may one day be a curious historical document. I forbear all comment. The barefaced gambling, and the frightful size and nature of the BUBBLE is manifest. As long as the nation has the *ability* and the WILL to pay the dividends, so long will it endure, and not a moment longer. I make no other prophecy!

The great endeavour of the ministry, seems to be directed towards scraping all possible taxation into the Treasury. They will try the patience of the people, till it will be too late to remember the old proverb, "*Beware the fury of a patient man.*" When the string is snapt, the performer wishes he had not screwed it to excess, but had been content with the natural tones of his instrument. Government act as if insensible of that political fermentation so evidently spreading all over the world—or as if they regarded it as a mere casual ebullition, productive of no change or consequences. But, whatever may be our party prejudices, most certain it is that the signs of the times are symptoms of constitutional changes, and that important and unlooked for changes will result. A *Revolution* is actually at this very moment going on! The press *is* the great Conspirator, and nothing can quell it. Paper is combatting with paper. No Government ever was so grievously exposed in the eyes of the people. All its actions are dissected and analized. It is impossible the present corruptions can continue many years. The country has discovered that a change of men does not produce a change of *measures*, but that the PARLIAMENTARY DIRECTORY only change their *tools*. We shall not long be under the guidance of the Select Peerage,

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whose *interest* bears down all law and justice, the prerogatives of the Crown, and the rights of the people. The architects of Babel had little foresight of the fate of their boasted erection, and still less of the end to which it was subservient. Providence made that a tomb-stone of their futile vanity, they had designed as a lasting monument of their wisdom and power. Unless a *radical* change is adopted, a public bankruptcy will *yet* ensue; it is as inevitable as death itself; for, as Mr. Hume truly observes, "*to this period it tends as naturally as an animal body to its dissolution and destruction.*"

The most certain way of accelerating the event is the destruction of our liberties, and the introduction of a despotic and military power; for internal prosperity and foreign commerce are inseparably connected with freedom. When an Indian savage wants a cocoa-nut, he fells the tree! Such is a despotic government.* If taxation and representation are not connected together, a desperate borough faction may one day rob us of our substance at the point of the bayonet. The predilection in a certain quarter is well known, and we have certainly been making rapid marches towards this state of things. Look at the cordon of barracks round the metropolis—at the troops of military who are galloped through our streets on the most ridiculous alarms. The army have occupied many of our assize towns, and have positively encompassed the Judges in the execution of their duty! It was lately observed, that at a

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Idee du despotisme.—"Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pie et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique. *Montesquieu.*

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provincial musical festival, the magistrates *preserved order* with companies of hussars! Is this in harmony with the spirit of Englishmen? Would our ancestors have suffered this usurpation of their civil rights? The sheriff's wand was formerly the only requisite, and the determination of the local constables the only power wanted to control the people, or to preserve "social order and good government." Is it not notorious, that the Secretary of the Home Department makes a regular provision for the military government of the counties, and that troops are now as regularly posted in *barracks* and *districts*, as along the hostile frontiers of an enemy's country? Ireland is avowedly preserved by military occupation, and on the very first event of a popular commotion in this country will the mask be cast aside. But the most fertile country, if the government is despotic, will not allure the manufacturer or merchant; security of property, and certainty of enjoyment, as one of our ancestors remarks, are their first research—bees often lodge their honey in the barren rock. The Tyrians of old, rather than submit to the tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar, quitted a fertile land, and built their city on a rocky island. Venice, Florence, Genoa, and the Netherlands, under a free government, attained the highest possible commercial prosperity. "What is become of Athens, Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Colchis, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Rhodes, those free cities, each of which in its day has been the metropolis of the commercial world? They are now no more; their place is hardly to be found. They lost their liberty, and with liberty, the arts, manufactures, and commerce have taken their everlasting flight." Yet every one of these great cities, in the zenith of

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their elation, presumptuously supposed their supremacy would endure to the world's end! Britain, see'st thou not in the mirror of past events most awful proofs of natural instability? Do we not, in public and private affairs, daily witness the truth of that divine memento, "adversity is set over and against prosperity." That *persevering* in the course persisted in for the last twenty-five years, will lead to universal ruin and disorder, are conclusions as obvious and certain, as that the continual repetition of exhausting efforts produce debility, and waste and extravagance terminate in poverty. What an infamous perversion of reasoning—what an impudent and wicked casuistry is that renegade apostacy, that would persuade us the depression of trade, relaxation of industry, increase of pauperism, misery, and crime, are not as closely connected with the war, as an effect can be with a cause—wicked sophistry, that would persuade the country "war was a thing desirable on its own account—that loans and taxes were the certain means of making a nation rich and flourishing—that commerce prospered most under double insurance, and numerous captures—that trade was rendered more productive by turning industrious artisans into idle soldiers and sailors—and that the more of our capital and income that was sent abroad in supporting armies, and feeding needy allies, the richer we should become at home!"*

* The following is the description of our critical situation at the commencement of the present year, (1817.)

"For near a century has England been mixing in the most tremendous conflicts which have ever raged in Europe, or afflicted the civilized world. She commenced by undertaking to vanquish the hydra of republicanism; and, after scouring the seas with her

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Truly did the poor Lancashire Bailiff, some years since, answer the interrogatory of the Secretary of

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fleets in pursuit of the many headed-monster, and wasting her blood and treasure in combating its numerous offspring, she has finished by compelling the French people to plant in their soil the last withered stem of legitimacy, the old stock which they flattered themselves had been rooted out for ever. In the short space of twenty years how great have been the other additions to our physical strength, and the visible extension of our wealth! Our agriculture has been so much improved, and the produce of our soil so greatly extended, that we have become habitual exporters of corn. The seas of both hemispheres have been covered with our ships; annually above 20,000 have entered our ports—the East and the West were tributary to our flag, and the stream of commerce flowed into the land with so copious a tide, that the navigation of the world seemed to centre in the ports of Great Britain. The foreign commerce of England was the commerce of the world. O Britain! *Queen* of the isles! How was thy name exalted among the nations!—Thy sceptre waved omnipotent from shore to shore,—thy spear was brandished with prevailing might on the plains of France; and the fortresses of Belgium became the barracks and tents of thy conquering battalions,—whilst thy subjects were at once the manufacturers and navigators of the civilized world. Thy cities were the favourite seats of science; thy lands presented a succession of gardens, adorned with villas; *thy merchants were princes, and the cultivators of thy soil became the law-givers to the globe!* So imposing, so magnificent was the spectacle which this country presented at the termination of the war; all hearts rejoiced at home, and we were the object of admiration and astonishment abroad. Our last grand effort, closing with the short, but decisive campaign of Waterloo, though unparalleled in extent, and involving an alarming expenditure of our resources, was made with a more apparent ease than any of our previous exertions, and the public mind seemed to be *intoxicated* with a conviction that our power was unbounded, and our financial and moral exergies never to be exhausted. Ere long, however, a cloud was discerned in the horizon. The splendour of the scene became dimmed by a thick mist. Great Britain, late the arbitress of contending nations, the envy and admiration of the world, *is in an instant* overwhelmed with distress, and become an object of commiseration to those very states which she prides herself on having raised from oppression, and saved from annihilation. England, my beloved country! active, patient, and ingenious in thy industry; noble, generous, and courageous in thy spirit;

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State respecting *Paine's* publications, "I never heard of the Age of Reason—Common Sense is no where to be met with, and not one of the Rights of Men can be found!"

When in lieu of the toast "Protestant ascendancy," I shall hear substituted, that of the "ancient *democratical* ascendancy," then shall I see the security of British Kings and their People, from War, Revolution, and Bankruptcy: Maritime tyranny will then yield to Free trade, and all nations may live in mutual amity.

I wish not to be illiberal, but allow sincerity to the great body of Pittites, or, as they term themselves, *Government Men*. But war is always the aggrandizement of a few to the misery of many: they are deluded, and duped by those who make a trade of the DELUSION. There is an apparent pros-

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fruitful in talents and in virtuous exertions; more rich and more powerful than any other kingdom which has flourished in ancient or in modern times; who hast for twenty years *fed and subsidized thy numerous allies*, and art but now resting from having subdued the legions of France; are thine own industrious children to starve in the midst of plenty, and be abandoned to misery, whilst opulence and splendour glitter around them? Art *thou* then at length doomed to sink in the scale of nations? Are thine energies extinct, and all the attributes in which thy greatness hath been founded, are they no longer to be found? Is there no vigour in thy councils? No patriotism in thy prince? No saving virtue in thy people."

We are, however, somewhat recovering from this alarming crisis, and yet do the government seem dead to the wisdom they might learn from such dear bought experience. The close of the American war, the latter part of 1811, and the last two years, have three times presented the awful lesson, and still do the Prince Regent's ministry pursue the same continental policy,—and the same endeavour to force the public income up to their mad expenditure, instead of reducing the latter below the former. Other wars must be the inevitable consequence—the return of similar crisis—the increase of the bubble, till it bursts in our eyes.

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perity that conceals the awfulness of their situation. The vessel will sink from excessive loading, though the moment preceding her foundering, the crew had been boasting of the riches of the cargo. The gardener who has too greatly increased the heat of his hot-bed, whilst the plants flourish prodigiously, is elated with his skill; but, when they wither and die from sudden changes, in vain he repents and curses his folly. We have seen many an egress and ingress of paper; we have seen the fatal effects of not guarding against these destructive tides; and yet now our trade is reviving, we are trusting again that the heave of another billow will launch us safe over the shoally rock. We are erecting a light-house on a sandy foundation, of so lofty and Babel an height, that the first storm of thunder and lightning will shatter it over our heads; we shall then curse the architect who built it, though before we had extolled him to the skies! Such will be the future fate of Mr. Pitt's character!

On the Dissolution of the Funding System.

Many writers have told us a national failure would do us no injury—that it could not decrease our real wealth, "and that as the lambs frisked before, so they would again." In short, that a *spunge* would much benefit the *existing* generation. Now, whatever might be its beneficial effects to posterity, most certain it is, that to the present it would be the most dreadful and irretrievable catastrophe that could possibly befal us. In proof of this we have numerous instances on

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record. The distress attending a national bankruptcy would be in exact proportion to that of a private failure. And no nation would suffer so much as ourselves, because no country ever carried the system to such a frightful extent. And with respect to its not diminishing our real property, it undoubtedly would do so. First, it would change the thoroughfare of our trade to other countries, which would never be recovered, as by the opening of new streets, the value of property in the old is comparatively depreciated. We shall have no means of preserving our immense colonies, many of which we can retain only by naval superiority; consequently, we are no longer the emporium of colonial produce. We have but lately witnessed the sudden and extraordinary depreciation of real property from the stagnation of trade and commerce. The late distresses of the country, from the lessened demand for labour, have been nearly our destruction, yet there was the same quantity of food and cloathing in the country. What then would be our situation with the whole population out of employ, from the want of public confidence, and the confusion of such a dreadful explosion? It is really an event the very possibility of which paralizes one with horror. It would be the most extraordinary phenomenon in the political world; and its effects most rapid and wonderful. The world would contemplate our misfortunes with the feelings of a soldier whose comrade had been shot dead by his side! The merchants of every foreign capital in the four continents would weep over our fall, and a series of revolutions might commence. The merchants who had been made rich by us would indeed stand afar off for the fear of our torment!

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It is curious that Dr. Colquhoun, who argues on the *solidility* and real imperishable nature of our debt, should at the same time discover such a nervous affection on the danger attending any *meddling*. In this sympathy I heartily join with him, and think the following extract the most sensible part of his voluminous state catalogue:

" The progress of events during the last thirty years, has " thrown much new light on this important subject; yet still " there are individuals, and some too of considerable talents " and information, who hold an opinion, that Great Britain " can never be the seat of happiness, until a spunge is applied " to the Public Debt, and the whole annihilated by the " power of Government; thereby sacrificing the Public Cre- " ditors, who have *bona fide* lent their money to the state, " pulling down at once the whole fabric of the Funding Sys- " tem, and disorganizing, or rather *destroying* the beneficial " circulation *by which this country has risen pre-eminent* " in ARMS, *arts, industry, and wealth beyond any other* " *nation in the world.* The impolicy, the danger and the " injustice of such a measure, require no comment. Instead " of happiness—misery, poverty, ruin, and distress would " be the unquestionable result. Setting aside the very in- " considerable proportion of the debt due to foreigners, " which must of course be paid, no accession of property " would be obtained by the National family, even if the " Stockholders were to make a voluntary surrender of their " whole property in the state. *The National Property* " *would be the same as before,* while that energy, which is " generated by the circulating property, now extending to " more than £33,000,000 sterling a year, paid quarterly " to perhaps *nine hundred thousand* Public Creditors, would " no longer exist. The agriculture of the country would " experience a severe shock. Trade, commerce, manufac- " tures, and every species of *productive* labour would be " paralized. The ruin of a very large proportion of the

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" Public Creditors, would extend to all ranks of the commu-
" nity. The demand for labour, upon which the poor in all
" countries depend for subsistence, would no longer exist
" to any extent; since that proportion of the community,
" who were Public Creditors, and who with their families,
" servants, and dependants, may be estimated at nearly
" FIVE MILLIONS of individuals, would have no means
" of *purchasing* either food, clothing, fuel, or any other of
" those articles of convenience, by which the community at
" large is supported!" *p.* 287.

The fatal consequences of such a misfortune I consider too evident to require any argument. The greater part of the circulating medium being annihilated, the little specie in existence, would be hoarded with avidity. An instant stop would be put to all trade and commerce not immediately connected with the necessaries of life, food and cloathing. And the situation of the large towns, and more particularly the metropolis, would be most truly mournful. It is not to be supposed that in the confusion and terror that must ensue, the beasts would be sent up to Smithfield, or the flour to the bakers! What then will be the deeds of a populace actuated by despair? Death, and mourning, and famine, in one day! A scene of misery unparalleled in the most tragic histories of any period!

Famine was a very original cause of the most cruel massacres during the French Revolution: the failure of their paper securities caused an enormous rise in the necessaries of life, and even a scarcity, from the confusion and robberies necessarily attendant on such a state of public affairs. The fury of the populace, taken advantage of by the creatures of the day, was directed against this and that faction as the cause of

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their miseries. The unfortunate King was charged with intercepting the passage of corn into Paris; and hence those sanguinary outrages which have so indelibly stained the character of the nation. The mobs of all countries when once infuriated, are alike lawless and destructive. What would be the fate of this great country under similar circumstances? I shudder at the certain destruction of those splendid monuments, knowledge and virtue have consecrated to happiness. However scorned by the Pittites, or ridiculed by the sage advisers of a National Bankruptcy, I pronounce it will most certainly revolutionize the form of Government, and for a time suspend all order and social compact. It will most assuredly be the means of emancipating our immense colonies; and if it will at all dissipate the trance of corruption, let its advocates know, it may possibly liberate Napoleon!

The reader then must think me the greatest miscreant in the world if he believes the object of this work is to undermine the Public Credit of the kingdom. No; its object is to undermine the power of that faction who are accumulating for their posterity such certain and direful evils. It is to undermine that War Junta, whose principles and intrigues have desolated the whole world; who are pursuing a system destructive of their country's liberties, and demoralizing to its moral character—It is to reform the representation of the British People, and to drive from their usurpation those shameful seat-sellers who traffic in the blood and treasure of their fellow-creatures, who are guilty of every infamy, perjury and dishonesty can suggest.

Many schemes have been proposed for averting

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the fatal end, but there is no possible mode excepting the reduction of the expenditure, a determination to maintain peace, redressing the civil and ecclesiastical grievances of the people, more liberal principles of trade, the diminishing the issue of paper, and the payment of the WHOLE interest on the debt.

A reduction of the interest is very generally looked to as the ultimate relief ministers must resort to. But the interference of the legislature has invariably burst the bubble, as in the instances of the Caisse d' Escompte, the Mississippi, and the Tulipomania. The advocates of this measure do not consider that the whole circulation is now a national one, and entirely dependant on the *sacredness* of the Public debt. They do not consider that if one per cent. is taken off a capital of a thousand millions, there must be a Bankruptcy of a fifth or *two hundred* millions *somewhere*. And what would be the depreciation of the stock from such a breach of National faith; where would be the security against a further reduction? And what is *then* the situation of the Bank of England? Is it *then* solvent with the greater part of its capital in government securities? It must be remembered that the debts of individuals, and the mortgages which cover the property of a great part of the country, remain the same in nominal amount, while the mortgage estate is depreciated half from such a breach of public credit. Besides, on the very rumour of such an intention on the part of the legislature, how great would the general *rush* to sell out; it is this general impulse to sell on the fall of all merchandize, which invariably depresses the market beyond what the actual state of things may warrant. All are anxious to get rid of their stock, before it

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experiences a greater depreciation; things are cheap in proportion to the quantity in the market, and the effect of such a deluge of funded property brought at once to the hammer, may be well conceived. But I am told that the income tax *was* a *virtual* reduction of interest; this, however, I deny, because being levied on *all other* property, the Funds preserved their comparative value; and as long as they do that, so long will they maintain their character. If an income tax was levied on the funded property only, that would really be a reduction of interest, and we should soon see the disasterous effect. At this time the Funds are a very preferable interest, being exempt from county rates and poor levies: and no wonder they rise in price with the continual creation of artificial capital, for which interest must be found somewhere, as it cannot be obtained from trade or commerce. And it must be recollected, that it is not a trifling decrease of the taxes and public expenditure which will relieve this country in time of peace; because, the great fall from the nominal prices of a long war, which, however, does not affect what we *owe*, may render it as difficult to maintain an income of sixty millions in a time of peace, as eighty millions during war.

We are taunted with the failure of our series of twenty years prophecies. But turn back to the debates on the Restriction Act, and see whose prophecies have failed. Look at the accomplishment of most of Mr. Hume, and the prospect of the remainder being as certainly fulfilled. A perseverance in these predictions, and the general opinion of all parties that an evil day must come *sometime*, is surely no little presumption of the soundness of their principles. I

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abstain from any predictions as to time, it may be within ten years, or not for a century to come; but perseverance in the system renders its dissolution as certain as my own. "Nothing, say they, is more certain than death, and nothing more uncertain than the time of dying; yet we can always fix a period beyond which man cannot live, and within some moment of which he will die." Every political economist of character has been impressed with this idea; and let me add, that every case of a failure in finances, since the the system of paper began, has produced a revolution in government, either total or partial. *Paine* remarks, that a failure in the Finances of France immediately produced the French revolution. A failure in the finance of the assignats broke up the revolutionary government, and produced the change in the constitution. A failure in the finances of the old Congress of America, and the embarrassments it brought upon commerce, broke up the system of the old confederation, and produced the present federal constitution. Why should the Boroughmongering system expect a different fate? In the last words of Mr. Hume, "these seem to be events which are not yet very remote, and which reason foresees as clearly almost as she can anything in the womb of time; and in order to deliver such prophecies as these, no more is requisite than merely to be in one's senses, free from popular madness and DELUSION." Never was a prophecy more fully accomplished than that this system would end in a military despotism. Ireland is literally garrisoned; and the Boroughmongers only preserve their usurpation here by hatching plots and ordering out military to quell them. "No expedient remains for preventing or suppressing insurrections, but mercenary

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armies: no expedient at all remains for resisting tyranny. Elections are swayed by bribery and corruption alone." What an impudent and scandalous alarm was made out of the pretended attack on the life of the Regent—an attempt, they know, originated only with their own wicked baseness: they knew that no attack was ever contemplated, and that no shot was ever fired from any species of gun. And yet did they make it one of the chief pretexts for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and destroying the power of petitioning! The abuse of the Prince, on his opening the last Parliament, they well know proceeded out of hatred to themselves only. It was a low-lived and disloyal conduct; for towards the Chief Magistrate of a country, whoever he may be, however sensual or dishonourable, there is a respect due, without which no Government could long hold together. But I affirm that no people ever exhibited more endurance of affliction and oppression, than this country has done the last few years. What a gracious return is the suspension of their freedom on account of a few local discontents, excited by famine and Government Spies. What an . . . . . supplication of the Deity, to pray that he would cure the "madness of the people." The madness of the people forsooth! When it is notorious that the majority of the European dynasties are afflicted with insanity! I could here make some applicable physiological remarks, but delicacy forbids.

As to the employment of spies, so dauntlessly sanctioned and defended by some persons, all parties are pretty well agreed on its infamy and impolicy. The nation properly enough suspect subordination of perjury. Talleyrand and Fouché may advocate this es-

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pionage at the Vienna congress, but I hope the British people will never execrate, and never tolerate its importation. Those may approve of *Mr.* Castle's conduct, who belong to the same clan; and who have themselves once upon a time by inflammatory speeches and conduct seduced their companions, then prosecuted as their enemies, and even witnessed their death and torture; but the honourable mind must loathe such a profession, though it should lead to the Consulate of Malta, or the highest offices of the State.

Let the Boroughmongers beware, lest the employment of *Oliver* does not find employment for an Oliver *Cromwell;* and a protector would very speedily terminate their power:—witness his celebrated speech on dissolving the Long Parliament.*

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* "It is high time for me to put an end to your sitting "in this place, which you have dishonoured by your con- "tempt of all virtue, and defiled by your practice of every "vice. Ye are a factious crew, and enemies to all good "Government. Ye are a pack of mercenary wretches, and "would, like Esau, sell your country for a mess of pottage; "and like Judas, betray your God for a few pieces of money! "Is there a single virtue now remaining amongst you? Is "there one vice ye do not possess? You have no more reli- "gion than my horse. Gold is your God! which of you "have not bartered away your consciences for *Bribes?* Is "there a man amongst you that hath the least care for the "good of the Commonwealth? Ye sordid Prostitutes! have "ye not defiled this sacred place, and turned the Lord's "temple into a den of thieves? By your immoral principles, "and wicked practices, ye are become intolerably odious to "the whole nation; you, who were deputed here *by the* "*people* to get their grievances redressed, are yourselves "become their *greatest* grievance! Your country therefore "calls upon me to cleanse this Augean stable, by putting a "final period to your iniquitous proceedings in this house; "and which, by God's help, and the strength he hath given "me, I am now come to do."

"I command you, therefore, upon the peril of your lives,

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But if it be determined to bolster up the system—if increasing reams of paper are to be issued—if a dragoon despotism be its only prop—if it is determined that the people of this country shall be inoculated with sedition—that they shall fire at their monarch—that they shall subvert their constitution—and that they shall be provoked beyond British endurance to bear, the following extract from Lord Bacon's Essay on Seditions and Troubles may picture the result :—

" Shepherds of people had need know the calendars of tem-
" pests in states, which are commonly greatest when things
" grow to an equality, as natural tempests are greatest about
" the equinox. And as there are certain hollow blasts, and
" secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in
" states. Fames were pronounced by the Poets as the relics
" of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the prelude
" of seditions to come. Seditious tumults, and seditious

" to depart immediately out of this place. Go, get out,
" make haste, ye venal slaves! be gone: So take that shining
" bauble there, and lock up the door."*

* Mr. Oliver and his brethren had need be careful how they carry on their bloody trade, or they may themselves tumble into a trap of their own setting: especially if no one else can be sacrificed. Mr. Robert Watt was the only one convicted and executed for high treason in the *alarms* of 1794. He was tried at Edinburgh, and, notwithstanding his counsel Mr. W. Erskine produced undeniable evidence of his having been a spie in the employment of government—of an actual correspondence with Mr. Dundas, (late Lord Melville) and that Mr. Dundas had even supplied him with money, yet Watt was convicted on the ground that the particular espionage he was then engaged in, was not sanctioned by his employer! The following sentence was passed on him:—that " on Wednesday, the 15th of October, you be
" hanged by the neck until you are dead, your bowels to be taken
" out and cast in your face, and your body to be cut in four
" quarters, to be at the disposal of his Majesty. And may the
" Lord God Almighty have mercy on your soul!"

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" fames, differ no more than as brother and sister, masculine " and feminine. Neither doth it follow, that because these " fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them " with too much severity, should be a remedy of troubles. " So when any of the four pillars of Government are mainly " shaken, or weakened, (which are *religion, justice, counsel, " and treasure,)* men had need to pray for fair weather. " Concerning the *materials* of seditions. It is a thing well " to be considered; for the surest way of preventing sedi- " tions, (if the times do bear it,) is to take away the matter " of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell " whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The " matter of seditions is of two kinds, much *poverty*, and " much *discontent*.

" And usury still watching for its day:
Hence perjuries in every wrangling court,
And war, the needy bankrupt's last resort."

" Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discon- " tentments, because they have often, or have been long, and " yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every va- " pour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is neverthe- " less true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, " yet may fall at last; and as the Spanish proverb noteth " well, 'the cord breaks at last by the weakest pull.'

" The *causes* and *motives* of seditions, are innovation in " religion, *taxes, alteration of laws and customs*, breaking " of privileges, *general oppression, advancement of unworthy " persons*, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions " grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people, " joineth and knitteth them together.

" The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means " possible that material cause of sedition, whereof we speak, " which is want and poverty in the estate. To which pur- " pose serveth the *opening* and well balancing of trade; the " cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the " repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the

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" improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of " things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and " the like. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by " number; for a small number that spend more and earn less, " do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that " live lower and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of " nobility and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion " to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to neces- " sity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they " bring nothing to the stocks; and in like manner when more " are bred scholars, then preferments can take off. Above " all things good policy is to be used, that the treasure and " monies in a state be not gathered into few hands. For, " otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve. " And money is like muck, not good except it be spread.

" To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontents to " evaporate, (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) " is a safe way; for he that turneth the humours back, and " maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign " ulcers, and pernicious imposthumations."

May I hope that his Majesty's ministers and the advisers of the Regent will yet awake to the sense of the danger. It is their duty and their policy to redress the grievances of the People. I have attentively examined the effects of a National Bankruptcy, and I am convinced it would bring about a scene of chaotic confusion analogous to the first state of the globe, when it was without form and void. I hope we should ever be a great country—that our peculiar advantages of climate and situation and our reflective character will always rate us high in the scale of nations: but it would be long, very long, ere we should rise from our degradation. It is true that France has overgot a bankruptcy of 1,500,000,000 livres—that Europe has seen that country rise with new life and

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vigour from the tomb in which all laws, social and political, seemed to be for ever buried.* But it was a plague which swept away the happiness and integrity of the existing generation; and it will be long before the memory of her vices and sufferings will cease to draw bitter tears from those who have survived the horrors. She has been ever since a curse upon herself and all around. Religion has vanished, consumed by superstition and scepticism; and the deadly blight of her infidelity has spread among neighbouring nations.

Our history is the counterpart of that of the Italian village of Torre del Greco. The thoughtless inhabitants of that beautiful spot on the edge of Vesuvius, notwithstanding the many awful calamities which had befallen their ancestors, rebuilt it and cultivated the contiguous lands, unable to resist the temptation of the astonishing quick returns from its fertile soil. As no such catastrophe had happened in their day, they lived in stupid security, confiding in their Saints and Idols, and despising the predictions of those croaking philosphers who presumed to predict a very probable recurrence. Every now and then a slight earthquake or jet of lava disturbed and frightened them; but the symptoms subsiding, they relapse into their former blind confidence, till after a few years the Volcano, as if it had repressed its passion to a state of suffocation, suddenly bursts forth with the most impetuous fury, and buries in sudden and total destruction their lives and properties!

* It was calculated that at the Revolution, France possessed sixty millions of specie, whereas in this country there is said to be scarcely twenty.

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APPENDIX.

BEFORE I proceed in the analysis of Mr. Bentham's plan of Parliamentary Reform, it may be required that I give some evidence and proof of the necessity of a Reform in the present Representation of the British people, and some demonstration of the *corruption* of the House of Commons.

1. The late SPEAKER declared that the practice of *buying and selling* seats in that House was "*as notorious as the sun at noon day.*"

2. A Petition presented in 1793, by the Hon. Charles (now Lord) Grey offered to prove that "the majority of that House were returned by the *proprietors* of *rotten boroughs*, the *influence* of the Treasury, and *a few powerful families.*" This petition is said to have been drawn up by Mr. *Tierney*, and was signed by the members of the society, "The Friends of the People."

3. Mr. *Brand*, in his speech, said, that "this circumstance is too generally known, and too universally admitted, to require any demonstration: evidence has been offered in proof at the bar of the House; and therefore it is unnecessary to attempt to establish by argument, what is so notoriously borne out by the fact."

4. Mr. *William Pitt* (idol Pitt) April 18, 1785, said *in* and *to* the House, "To conquer the corruption that existed in those decayed boroughs, would be acknowledged an impossible attempt. The temptations were too great for poverty to resist, and the *consequence* of this corruption was so visible, that some plan of *reforming* the boroughs had become *absolutely necessary.*"

Again, the same *William Pitt*, 1872. "You see that so defective, so inadequate, is the present practice, at least of the elective franchise, that no impression of national calamity, no conviction of ministerial error, no abhorrence of disasterous war, are sufficient to stand against that corrupt influence which has mixed itself with election, and which drowns and stifles the popular voice."

1783 and in 1785, he again declared "*without a reform*

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the nation cannot be safe; this war may be put an end to, but what will protect you against another? as certainly as the spirit which engendered the present war actuates the secret councils of the Crown, *will you under the influence of a defective Representation* be involved again in new wars, and in similar calamities." "The defect of Representation is the national disease, and unless you apply a remedy directly to that disease, *you must inevitably take the consequence with which it is pregnant.*" In 1785, "without a Parliamentary Reform the nation will be plunged into new wars; without a Parliamentary Reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be of use to you!"—

5. *Hatsell*, Chief Clerk of the House, declared that "the control which the *independent* Members of the House *ought to have* over the conduct of the MINISTERS is ENTIRELY LOST."

6. "Towards the close of the American war, Mr. *Pitt* (a boy almost) saw the *corrupt condition of Parliament*, from the defect in the Representation of the people, with the eyes of a mature statesman: the eagle eyes of his father had seen it before him, and the thunder of his eloquence had made it tremble. Lord *Chatham* had detected and exposed the *rank corruption of the House of Commons* as the SOLE CAUSE of that fatal quarrel," &c.

Erskine's Pamphlet.

Lord *Chatham* declared, "unless the House was reformed from within, it would be reformed with a vengeance from without." Talking of borough-mongering as the rotten part of the constitution, that great man declared, (Jan. 1766,) "it cannot continue a century; if it does not drop off it must be amputated."

His quondam son, the Pilot, declared once upon a time—"under the present system, no *honest* man can remain minister."

7. May 26, 1797. Mr. Sheridan, in the House, speaking to Lord Hawkesbury, said, "he could shew him persons, who could not indeed buy men and sell them, because that was not yet to be done, but who bought and sold boroughs, and with them sold the dearest interests of the people. Men who voted away all public principle for favours of this kind were the most profligate and contemptible characters in the kingdom."

8. Mr. FOX, in the same debate, speaking of this infamy, says, "the whole of this system, as it is now carried on, is as outrageous to morality, as it is pernicious to just

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government; it gives a scandal to our character, which not merely degrades the House of Commons in the eyes of the people, but it does more, it undermines the very principles of integrity in their hearts, and gives a fashion to dishonesty and imposture. Sir, these are things that paralyze you to the heart; these are the things that vitiate the whole system, that spread degeneracy, hypocrisy, and sordid fraud over the country, and take from the energies of virtue, and sap the foundations of patriotism and spirit. Sir, I have done; I have given my advice: I propose the remedy, *and fatal will it be for England* if pride and prejudice shall much longer continue to oppose it. Do you think that you must not come to a Parliamentary Reform soon? And is it not better to come to it now, when you have the power of deliberation, than when perhaps it may be extorted from you by convulsion? What will it be when extorted from you with indignation and violence? This was the opinion of Sir *George Saville*, of the Marquis of *Rockingham*, and of all the *virtuous* men who in their public lives proved themselves to be advocates for the rights of the people."

Such are the witnesses I have brought forward to prove these melancholy facts; and the Pittites cannot escape one of these two conclusions—either that the evidence of these great persons proves the Honourable House (as an aggregate) strongly impregnated with corruption;—or that these said persons, the great leading individuals sent to that Honourable House, are themselves infamously depraved or deplorably weak-minded in so characterizing that House. And in either of those conclusions it is equally impossible to escape another immediately resulting—viz. that some *radical reform* is needful.

Mr. Bentham is a great advocate for *secret* suffrage by ballot. Now I am aware of a very strong prejudice existing on this subject. This I myself felt not long since to an almost unconquerable degree. Mr. Fox opposed it invariably, and Montesquieu has said much of the *honour* of Monarchies. But we should recollect here is a choice of evils, and an overwhelming *influence* without it in the Crown and Aristocracy. And let any enemy to it ask himself whether he has ever seriously reflected on the subject; or whether he has read the arguments in Mr. Bentham's invaluable work, page clxxi. Secrecy of suffrage would much diminish the matter of corruption, the power of bribery, and the effect of terrorism. It would enable the voter to give effect to *his own will*, ... to the exclusion of every *other*—the great end to be obtained. Is the reader

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aware that the House of Commons *ballot* for a Committee of *Secrecy*? Mr. Brougham to be sure by a singular *guess* forenamed twenty out of twenty-one, on a late occasion. And *the* Noble Lord (see M. Chronicle, 7th Feb. 1817,) "did not think that the House would join in reprobating a practise *established by the usage of ages.*" How is the suffrage conducted at White's and at Brooke's—and at all the numerous political and literary societies? How is the desired effect accomplished at the *India House*?

A word more on the "glorious perfection" of the British Parliament. Sure it is the height of absurd dotage, this jargon of perfectibility. How inconsistent and incompatible with reason and justice are the duties of Lord High Chancellor and Speaker of the House of Lords. How utterly impossible that they can both be discharged by one man, with comfort to himself or advantage to the state! What is an *appeal* from the Court of Chancery to the Lords, but generally speaking, a new hearing before the same Chancellor with the addition of a Bishop or two!

MR. BENTHAM'S

Plan of Parliamentary Reform.

ENDS TO BE AIMED AT ON THE OCCASION OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

The *ends*, to the attainment of which a system of parliamentary representation, and parliamentary practise ought to be directed are many, but all may be brought under one or other of three expressions.

1. Securing, in the highest possible degree, on the part of members, (that is to say, on the part of the greatest possible proportion of the whole number) the several *endowments* or *elements of aptitude*, necessary to fit them for the due discharge of such their trust.

2. Removing, or reducing to the smallest possible amount, the inconveniences attendant on *Elections*.

3. Removing, or reducing to the smallest possible amount, the inconveniences attendant on *Election Judicature*.

The *endowments* or *elements of aptitude* may be comprehended, all of them under one or other of three expressions;

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viz.—1. Appropriate *probity*. 2. Appropriate *intellectual aptitude*. 3. Appropriate *active talent*.

By the word *appropriate* as here applied to endowments is meant in the case of each such endowment, that modification of it, which is, in a particular manner, suitable to the particular situation here in question, to wit, that of a representative of the people,—deputed by a part, to fill, in the character of a trustee or agent for the whole,—a seat in that assembly, to which belongs one out of three shares in the legislative department of government, together with the right and duty of watching over the exercise of the two others, viz. the administrative and the judicial.

By the word *appropriate*, as applied to *probity*, is understood the representative, on each occasion, whether in speaking or delivering his vote, pursuing that line of conduct, which, in his own sincere opinion, being not inconsistent with the rules of morality or the law of the land is most conducive to the general good of the whole community for which he serves; that is to say, of the whole of the British Empire:—forbearing, on each occasion, at the expense either of such general good, or of his duty in any shape, either to accept, or to seek to obtain, or preserve, in any shape whatsoever, for himself or for any person or persons particularly connected with him, any advantage whatsoever, from whatsoever hands obtainable; and in particular from those hands, in which, by the very frame of the constitution, the greatest mass of the matter of temptation is necessarily and unavoidably lodged, viz. those of the King, and the other members of the executive branch of the government,—the King's Ministers.

By *appropriate* as applied to *intellectual aptitude* is understood, the forming a right judgment on the several propositions, which, either in Parliament, or out of Parliament, but if out of Parliament, with a view to Parliament, are liable to come before him: and to that end, in Parliament forming a right conception, as well of the nature of each proposition, considered in itself, as of the *evidence*, adduced or capable of being adduced, whether in support of it or in opposition to it, and the observations thereon made, or capable of being made in the way of *argument*, *for* it or *against* it, as above.

By *appropriate* here applied to *active talent*, is understood, Talents suited to the due performance of the several *operations*, which, in the course of his service, in or out of the House, but more particularly in the House, it may happen to a member to be duly called upon to perform, or bear a part in:—for example, *introducing*, or endeavouring to introduce by way of *motion*, any proposed law or measure which he approves; delivering a *speech* in support of any proposition

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which he altogether approves;—or in opposition to one which he altogether disapproves:—proposing an *amendment* to any proposed law or measure which he approves in part only: drawing up or helping to draw up a *Report*, concerning such or such matters of fact, for the inquiring into which it has happened to him to have been appointed to act as Chairman, or other member, of a Committee; putting revelant *questions*, concerning matters of fact, to persons examined before the House, or any Committee of the House, in the character of *Witnesses*.

MEANS *conducive towards these* ENDS.

The *means* that promise most effectually to be conducive to the accomplishment of the above several ends are,

FIRST—Those which have for their end or object, the securing in the highest degree of perfection, the several *endowments* or *elements of aptitude*, requisite on the part of Members, as above.

These are—

1. Exclusion of *Placemen* in genera. from the right of sitting in the House, in the quality of *Members* entitled to *vote*.

2. Seating in the House *official persons*, named by the King, from each department, *without* right of *voting*, but with right of *speech* and *motion*, subject at all times to restriction or interdiction by the House.

3. Elections frequently, viz. *annually* renewed: with power to the King to obtain a fresh Election at any time.

4. Speeches (made in the House) correctly, completely, and *authentically*, taken down, and regularly and promptly *published*.

5. Constancy, punctuality, and universality, of *attendance*, secured.

SECOND. Next come the *means*, which have for their end the removing or reducing to their least possible dimensions, the *inconveniences* attendant on *Elections* and *Election Judicature*.

Supposing—

6. In each Electoral District, the number of the voters is uniformly large.

7. Each Elector's title, *payment* made to a certain amount to *certain taxes*:—the evidence of such title, a duplicate of the *Collector's* receipt: the paper (call it the *Voting-Paper*) *delivered*, or else *transmitted* (for example by *post*,) to the Returning Officer; in case of transmission, the Elector having first written upon it, according to directions printed

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on the Voting-Paper itself, the name of the Candidate for whom he means to vote.

8. When performed by *delivery*, the voting is *secret*. To establish the genuineness of the Collector's signature, and the sufficiency of the same, the Voter presents his voting-paper to the Returning Officer, in presence of the Agents of the Candidates. The shortest glance suffices. Its admission is signified by marking it with a stamp. The voter is thereupon presented with a ticket, which, out of the sight of every person, he drops, through a slit, into a box, marked with the name of the Candidate for whom he means to give his vote. Penalty on forging the signature of a Collector, or personating a voter; to enforce it, each voting-paper is retained. Delivery not to be performed by proxy: for in that case a known friend of one of the Candidates might require to be the proxy, and thus the design of secrecy would be frustrated.

9. To insure secrecy, as well in the case where the voting is performed by transmission, (viz. by post), as where it is performed by delivery, the voting-paper contains a promise of secrecy, signed by the voter, and conceived in terms of such strength, that without offering an affront to him, neither a Candidate, nor any one on his behalf, can request the breach of it. Not that even by this means the assurance of secrecy can be rendered altogether so perfect in the case of transmission, as in the case of delivery, as above.

Marks in lieu of names are not admitted. They would be incompatible with secrecy. A vote is of little value to him, who, not being as yet able to write, grudges the trouble necessary to the learning to write his name.

10. To form the *Territorial* Electoral districts the whole soil of Great Britain and Ireland is divided into, say (400) districts, as nearly equal as is consistent with convenience resulting from local circumstances. One member is chosen for each. Not that with reference to the end in view, if, by accident here and there, one should be found not above half the size of an average district, and, here and there another as much as twice the size, the inequality would be material. Parishes compose the elementary portions. No parish is divided.

12. The *Population* Electoral Districts are composed of certain Towns, the population of which amounts to a certain number of souls or upwards.—Say merely for illustration, 10,000:—precision might be given on examination of the Population Returns. Each of these Towns fills one or more seats, in proportion to its numbers: but in such sort that the whole number of seats thus filled does not exceed the 200. Such inequalities as in this case would be unavoidable, would here also be, to every practical purpose—immaterial. But

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such as they are, once every 50 or 25 years they might receive their correction.

The three capitals, London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, would thus possess that ascendancy which is their due: due to them, not merely on the score of population, but also on the score of appropriate information and intelligence.

13. For the seats corresponding to these Population Electoral Districts, voting, otherwise than in the most surely secret mode, viz. by *delivery*, need not be admitted.

14. On the part of persons possessing the one qualification required as above, such circumstances, as would be apt to present themselves in the character of grounds of disqualification, need not be regarded. *Aliens* for example would be admitted: but to such a degree would they be outnumbered, that though they were all enemies, no sensible practical mischief could ensue. *Females* might even be admitted: and perhaps with as little impropriety or danger, as they are in the Election of Directors for the government of the 30 or 40 millions of souls in British India.

By all the inequalities and other untoward results put together that could have place in the above plan, no practical mischief could be produced, equal to that which, on the present plan, a single pocket borough is sufficient to produce.

MEANS CONDUCIVE TO APTITUDE IN MEMBERS:

I. *Placemen not to vote nor be seated by Election.*

The exclusion proposed to be put upon the votes of Placemen, promises to be conducive to the above ends as respects *probity*,—appropriate probity.

By keeping the right of voting out of the hands of persons possessing other situations, to which,—in the shape of money, power, reputation, and in other shapes,—advantage in large masses is attached,—together with expectation of further and further advantage, in the same and other shapes,—all liable to be taken from them, without reason assigned, and at the King's pleasure:—persons thereby so situated, that, speaking of the generality of them, it is not in the nature of man that they should not, on all ordinary occasions, be in the habit of sacrificing, and continue disposed to sacrifice, in so far as depends upon each man's vote, the general interest of the empire and their public duty in every shape, to the desire of preserving such advantageous situations: to that desire, and thence to the desire and necessity of conforming themselves to the

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will of the person or persons, be they who they may, on whom their continuance in such situations depends.

MEANS &c. CONTINUED.

II. *Placemen seated by the King, with Speech and Motion, without Vote.*

Seating official persons, from the official departments, without votes, but with the right of speech and motion, subject to restriction or interdiction by the House is conducive to the aforesaid ends as respects appropriate *intellectual aptitude*. In this way. On the part of the King and his Ministers, it being all along matter of necessity, to secure for their measures, either the co-operation, or, at least the acquiescence of the House, it will be all along their interest, and therefore naturally their endeavour, to find out and station in the House such persons, as, being furnished with the requisite degree of obsequiousness as towards his will, are in an eminent degree distinguished by the talent of persuasion, including that sort and degree of appropriate *intellectual aptitude* which is necessary to it. This intelligence, be it what it may, the House may at all times be thus made to have the full benefit of, and at the same time, without having its decisions perpetually exposed to be turned aside into a sinister course, by the weight of so many dependant votes, expressive—not of any will of the voters, guided by any opinion of their *own* concerning the general interest, but of the will, guided by the particular and thence sinister interest, of the King, or of some Minister, or of some private and unknown favourite of the King's.

By this means the King and his Ministers would possess at all times what, at least in their own view of the matter, is the best chance, for obtaining, and maintaining, in the House, the only *honest* kind of influence, viz. *the influence of understanding on understanding*: and *that* purified, viz. by the preceding and following proposed arrangements taken together, from the *dishonest* kind of influence,—the exercise of which is, on both sides, in the relative situations in question, inconsistent with appropriate probity,—viz. *the influence of will over will.*

Surely it is not necessary or proper, that every man, who proposes a law or measure in the House, should have a vote to give in support of it, any more than that every Advocate who makes a motion in the King's Bench should have a vote to give in support of it on the Bench.

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In the business of judicature, to the giving to the justice of the case the benefit of such appropriate intelligence and active talent as may be afforded by the Advocates on both, it has never yet been thought necessary or so much as conducive, that the Advocates on either side should take their seats on the Bench, each of them with a vote equal in its effects to that of any of the Judges.

MEANS &c. CONTINUED.

III. *Elections frequent, annual.*

The proposed frequent renewal of Elections promises to be conducive towards all three of the abovementioned ends.

1. To *probity*. On the part of each member taken individually: viz. in case of transgression, by the prospect of eventual exclusion; and that speedy, to wit, at the next Election, at furthest a twelvemonth:

On the part of the whole house taken collectively: viz. by reducing, to so small a quantity, the length of sinister service, which it would be in the power of the King or his Ministers, to purchase, at the hands of any one Member: and increasing at the same time the number of such lengths of service, as ere they could secure the commencement or continuance of any sinister course of government, they would find themselves under the continually recurring necessity of purchasing, out of the whole number of members.

By reducing, in so great a degree, whatever inducement a candidate would have, on the occasion of a contest, to launch out into any such expense, as by straightening his circumstances, might in the hope of obtaining an indemnification, engage him to place himself in a state of dependance on the King, or this and that set of Ministers; whether Ministers in possession or Ministers in expectancy, making in this respect no difference.

2. It will be conducive to *intellectual aptitude* and *active talent*. By perpetually holding up to the view of each successful Candidate, now become a Member, the near prospect of a fresh Election, on the occasion of which it may happen to his constituents, to have the choice, of the same or any additional number, of rival Candidates: for all whom the encouragement will be greater and greater, in proportion as, on his part, any feature of unfitness, absolute or comparative, has in either of these two shapes, been manifested; viz. whether by discourses indicative of ignorance or weakness, by constant

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silence and inactivity, or by absentation or slackness of attendance.

This frequent renewal of elections therefore tends to insure *due dependance*—*i. e.* dependance as towards constituents. *Due independance*—*i. e.* independance as towards every other person.

The *mischief* is, the giving to any member of the Commons House, or to any person in any way connected with him, a useful and needful place, a needless place, an overpaid place, a ribbon or other badge of factitious dignity, a baronetcy, a peerage. The *remedy* to be obtained by the proposed reform, is,—so to order matters, as that on the occasion of the next general election that has place, the electors, if in their eyes the appointment wears the character of a bribe, shall have it in their power to rid themselves of the supposed betrayer of his trust.

The *impermanence* of the situation, to the degree in which it is secured by *annuality* of *re-election* contributes to the annihilation of corruption, 1. In proportion to the *short-livedness* of the power, diminishing, both to purchasers, and thence to sellers, the *venal value* of it;—the profit capable of being reaped by the *Vendor* by the corrupting the representative in question, and engaging him to betray his trust: 2. the profit to Vendor, and thence, in the shape of money or money's worth, the price which he is willing to pay, and thence the corruptible representative be able to receive. In the same proportion moreover, increases the power of the *antiseptic*—the corruption—opposing—remedy, placed in the hands of his constituents; the sooner the time for re-election comes, the earlier will that remedy be applicable.*

MEANS, &c. CONTINUED.

IV. Speeches authentically and promptly published.

The correct, complete, authentic, and constant taking down, and regular publication, of all speeches made in the House, promise to be conducive to all three ends.

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* Almon's Debates, anno 1744, Jan. 29.—On a motion for annual Parliaments, in preference to triennial, made in 1744, by *Thomas Carew*, these arguments were urged with great force by him, and in reply to the ministerial advocate, Sir William Yonge, by Sir *John Philips*, whose son was created, in the present reign, *Lord Milford*. The negative was carried by no more than 145 to 113—majority no more than 32.

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To *probity*. 1. By impressing upon each man's mind the assurance, that by the public in general, and by his own constituents in particular, he will thence forward, and then for the first time, *be judged of*, and in the only way in which in his situation a man can be rightly and justly judged of, *according to his works*; held up according to his deserts, to *esteem* or *dis-esteem*, for every thing which he *has* said, and not, as happens but too often at present, for saying that which he has not said.

2. In so far as concerns veracity and sincerity, by operating as a check upon those misrepresentations, which for the purpose of the moment, are so apt to be hazarded, under favour of the at present indispensable rule, which precludes reference to anterior debates: misrepresentations respecting the speaker's own opinion, respecting facts at large, and respecting the speeches of other members—misrepresentations, sometimes resulting from carelessness and temerity, sometimes accompanied with insincerity, or in other words, with wilful falsehood.

It promises to conduce to *intellectual aptitude*.

1. By furnishing to each member, on the occasion of each motion, a correct and complete view, of whatsoever *evidences* and *arguments*, have on the occasion of the same motion,—or any other past motion,—been brought forward: thereby furnishing him with better and safer grounds on which to found his opinion, his speeches, if any, and his vote, than can be furnished by any other means.

2. By impressing upon each man's mind, that assurance of being judged of according to his *words*, which has just been brought to view, in the character of a security for appropriate *probity*. For the more correct the judgment which he is assured will be passed upon that part of his *works*, the greater will be his exertions to save himself from the dishonour of being found wanting in point of appropriate *intellectual aptitude*.

3. By keeping out of the House such persons as, on the ground of experience, shall, either in their own judgment, or that of their Constitutional Judges, have been found unable to abide this text.

MEANS, &c. CONTINUED.

V. Attendance, punctual and general, secured.

Constancy and punctuality of attendance, on the part of each member, and thence of the whole House, promises to conduce to the desired ends;

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1. To *probity*. By insuring attendance in that place, where, in point of *moral duty*, his attendance is due, on all occasions possible. For though he durst not appear and openly support a bad measure, yet his absence is equal to *half* his support, by leaving unopposed what he ought to have opposed, or by leaving unsupported what he ought to have supported.

2. To *intellectual aptitude*: for the more frequent a man's attendance, the greater his experience; and the greater his experience, the more perfect is that branch of his *intellectual aptitude* which consists in an acquaintance with the nature of his business, whatsoever it may be.

3. To *active talent*. The more frequent a man's attendance, the greater will be his experience: and, be the business what it may, the greater his experience in the examination and management of it is, the greater will be his expertness at it:—that expertness, which is, at the same time, the effect of active talent, and the cause of it.

It will be asked how this requisite attendance is to be secured? The answer is, by the forfeiture of the seat, as a negligence on the part of a Trustee involves a forfeiture of the Trust. Thus let the operation of Election recur with the proposed degree of frequency, and the remedy is obtained. Let a sure and effectual *notification* of every such act of transgression be registered. To this purpose a regular and authentic publication, of Two Tables of the following descriptions, would obviously suffice:—

Table I. DAILY GENERAL ATTENDANCE TABLE: exhibiting, for each day, the name of every member present at any time of the sitting, together with the part taken by each, on each question on which there has been a division.

Table II. ANNUAL-INDIVIDUAL ATTENDANCE TABLE: exhibiting on every day of sitting throughout the year, for the instruction of his constituents, the conduct of each representative, in respect of *attendance, vote, and speech*: with the grounds of *excuse*, if any, for each default, in case of non-attendance.

N. B. This may appear visionary to those who have not read Mr. Bentham's work, p. 24, where he shews the practicability.

It is well known, that on extraordinary occasions, and for party motives, tables, and reports of a very similar nature, are actually published.

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INCONVENIENCES INCIDENT TO ELECTIONS, AND ELECTIONS JUDICATURE.

The inconveniences attendant on Elections may be comprehended under two heads: viz, 1. To Candidates, expence and vexation: 2. On the part of Electors and *persons at large*, loss of time (a loss which is of itself equivalent to so much expence) idleness, drunkenness, quarrels, mischief to person and property on the occasion of riots.

The *sources* of the expence are many.

1. That given, with a view to the Election, though antecedently to a vacancy, and thence penalty proof,—*entertainments*: instruments of corruption, defying all limitation, as well in point of number as in point of expence!

2. Previously to the Election, expence of drawing up and publishing advertisements, in newspapers and hand bills.

3. At *previous meeting*,—*on the Election-day* at the place of election,—expence of engaging persons to attend as *Clerks*, and make minutes of proceedings.

4. In the case of *distant votes*.

5. Money given for votes directly and indirectly.

6. In case of a *scrutiny*, Expences of Counsel, Attornies, and other Agents, employed in the attack and defence of the disputed votes.

7. Occasional law-suits; produced by the uncertainties which, to so great an extent, hang over the title to Election right, and the intrigues employed for the creation, preservation, or destruction of such rights.

The inconveniences attendant on Election Judicature, are Expences, vexations, and delays.

Expences. 1. In fees to Counsel: viz. for opinions, and, in case of a trial before an Election-Committee of the House of Commons, for attendances day after day, at the Committee. 2. In money paid to Witnesses for expences of journies and loss of time. 3. In fees to Attornies and other Agents, for carrying on the cause, as above. 4. Occasionally, in the expences of suits at law, concerning such offices as, in the case of seats for Boroughs, confer the right of voting on the election of Members, or, in some way or other, the means of influencing such Elections.

Vexations. 1. In that burthen of attendance which falls upon the members (fifteen in number), of whom the judicature is composed:—2. In those vexations which, on that occasion, in the shape of anxiety, candidate's experience, or are liable to experience:—3. and in those which fall upon such witnesses, in whose instance such compensation money

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as happens to be allowed to them as above, is, or is thought to be, more or less inadequate.

Delays. 1. In the stop so frequently put to the business of the House, by the anxiety of members to avoid serving on these judicatories. On the occasion of the sort of Lottery, by which the fifteen who are to serve on each cause are determined,—to avoid being thus impounded, they have frequently been known to absent themselves, in such numbers, as not to leave in attendance the number necessary to constitute a House. 2. In the length of time, during which, in case of an *undue return*, the *Electors* instead of the person who in their eyes is most fit, see their share of power exercised by one who, in their eyes may be to any degree unfit: and the *Candidate*, whose right it was to be returned, loses the benefit of that right.

ELECTION INCONVENIENCES— MEANS FOR THEIR REMOVAL.

The above-mentioned means promise to be conducive to the removal of the inconveniences, attendant, as above, on Elections and Election Judicature, in the matter of *expence*, by striking off at one stroke all expences whatsoever; except such as are comparatively inconsiderable,—such as those incurred in the publication of advertisements by the Candidates, and those incurred accidentally on the occasion of previous meetings.

To render this effect apparent, the slightest glance at the above-mentioned sources of expence will suffice.

1. *Loss of time, drunkenness, idleness,* and *riots,* have for their cause *large concourses* of people, with entertainments given to Electors by candidates, or their Friends. But, any such large concourse of people will have no object: nor (votes being secret) will any man be at any such expence in giving entertainments, the receivers of which may, for aught he can know, be composed, in as large a proportion of his adversaries as of his friends.

2. The expence of conveyance and refreshment, in the case of distant voters, will be struck off altogether. For, there cannot be any pretence either for offering or receiving money on that score, when the utmost effect, that could be expected from the longest journey, may equally be produced by a paper put into the post.

3. As to Lawyers, Clerks, and other Agents, neither on the occasion of the collecting the votes at the place of election, nor on any such occasion as that of an Election Committee

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of the House, can there be either use or room for any such assistance. All that the Returning Officer will have to do, is—out of the boxes denominated from the several candidates, to count the number of *voting-papers* that have been put into each box: observing only whether the sum mentioned by the Collector as received, be really in each instance either equal to, or greater than, the minimum required by the law to constitute a qualification.

As to vexations,—such as those from the obligation of serving on Election Judicatories, and from the delays attendant on such judicature,—there would be no such judicature: and there would be no such judicature, because there would be nothing to try:—unless, by possibility, and that without probability, any such offence should be committed, as, by the Collector, a refusal to sign and deliver the duplicate receipt on the *Voting Paper*;—or, by a Postmaster, a suppression of a multitude of such papers at the Post office, or by a Returning Officer, a false return,—respecting this or that one out of a small number of matters of fact, all of them simple, and in their nature either of themselves notorious, or easily made notorious.

When by the shortness of a man's time in his seat, and the multitude of the persons, to each of whom, at the hazard of being betrayed by any one of them, and this, without any tolerable assurance of his giving his vote in favour of the briber, the bribe would be to be offered,—when by all these means together, the obtainment of a seat by bribery is rendered, as it would be, to so unprecedented a degree improbable, it does not seem possible to divine by what means a candidate, generally deemed the less worthy, should obtain an effectual preference, to the exclusion of one generally deemed the more worthy.

The effect of the *open* method hitherto in use, has been to force Electors,—and *that* in a number to which there are no limits,—to give their vote in favour of the less worthy, to the exclusion of the more worthy candidate,—on pain of suffering greatly in their worldly interest.

But, in the *secret* method—If,—in the event of his voting in favour of him, who in his estimation, is the *less* worthy candidate, in preference to him who in his opinion, is the more worthy candidate, a man sees no prospect of advantage to himself, nor of disadvantage in the contrary event, it seems not too much to hope and expect, that his vote will most commonly be in favour of that candidate who, in his opinion, is the *more* worthy candidate. If conscience will

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not do this, it will do nothing. But assuredly, the less deeply men are *led*, or lead themselves, into *temptation*, the more likely they will be to be *delivered*, or to deliver themselves from *evil*.

Here then is the antidote to that power,—which by means of the relation between Landlord and Tenant, between Customer and Dealer, between employer and person employed; in a word, between Patron and Dependant, *forces* men to vote against their consciences. Thus will be removed that corruption which men of overswaying *opulence* possess and exercise, over men less favoured by the gifts of fortune, which is so falsely termed "the legitimate influence of property," and idly spoken of as that foundation stone, by the removal of which "the subversion of the constitution," would be effected.

By this plan of Parliamentary Reform, the *lower* classes would be most particularly benefitted. It being to so considerable an additional extent, the interest of the *higher* classes, to maintain, in their intercourse with the lower classes, an uniform and constant course of justice, kindness, and courtesy,—hence, by each individual of those higher classes, in proportion as his conduct is fashioned by that interest, the feelings of the lower classes will be respected, and their interests consulted and treated with regard.

Such is the imperfect outline of a work that reflects more honour on the cause of Reform, than all the others put together. Corruption would fain have had it burnt by the Common Hangman, was she not afraid of making her baseness if possible more notorious.

How *curious* that neither the Edinburgh nor the Quarterly Reviews should have even alluded to the existence of such a work, from such a character! *Are its arguments unanswerable? Is the character of the author above imputation?*

FINIS.

F. Marshall, Printer,
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ERRATA.

A few sentences in page 22 are borrowed from a Pamphlet of Mr. Roscoe's, and were inadvertently omitted to be marked as such.

Page 28, for *de*gression read *di*gression.

Page 179, in the note, for *denying* read *decrying*.

Page 253, for *scurrilous* read *schirrous*.

Page 281, in the comparison of price of labour and value of bread, the first line should run—1760, labour 5s. per week, would purchase 28 loaves, instead of 23.

Page 288 wrongly numbered 280.

Page 341, for 1872 read 1782.

Directions to the Binder.

Place the Statistical Map after page 204.

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